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THE REVELATION of President Roosevelt's attitude on currency stabilization must come as a crushing blow to all who had looked to the London conference to put the world on the road to economic recovery. There are only two things of importance that the conference could achieve: tariff reductions and a return to stabilized currency. The prospects of the first are now negligible; some of the members of the American delegation cannot even propose a multilateral reduction of trade barriers by the meaningless 10 per cent without designating the proposal as unofficial. And a return of the world's paper currency to some definite gold level is now thrown ahead to an indefinite future. For what reason? Because, in the words of Mr. Acheson, Acting Secretary of the Treasury: "We do not wish to say that any currency should be pegged at the present level on any certain date. We just have not arrived at a place where we can pick out a particular point where stabilization should take place." When, in the President's opinion, shall we arrive at such a point, and how shall we know we are there?

WE CAN UNDERSTAND the President's reluctance to undertake an artificial stabilization of the dollar through speculative operations by the government. A stabilization of this type might prove very costly; it would be of not very great value in any case, and as currently discussed it would mean stabilization in terms of a pound which is itself unstabilized. We can understand, too, the President's reluctance to commit himself to maintain the present level of the dollar, and most of the stabilization proposals seem to assume that end. But the assumption runs through the Washington dispatches that Mr. Roosevelt now thinks of stabilization as itself a deflationary or anti-inflationary measure. This is a profound misconception of its effect. Whether it is inflationary or deflationary depends upon the level fixed. If the gold content of the dollar were reduced to a point below the present quotation of the dollar in the foreign exchange market, the return to gold would be inflationary. Another misconception which the President's advisers may be under is that to announce the return to gold now would involve an immediate return to gold. All that would really be necessary would be for the conference to fix a definite date—say, July 1, 1934, or even January 1, 1935—when gold payments at a lower level would be resumed. The definite fixing of the new gold content would in itself sufficiently stabilize the dollar to make a "stabilization fund" unnecessary.

ONE OF THE MOST depressing things about a depression is that to many minds it justifies measures which at some other time would readily be recognized as unwise or dangerous. An instance is the decision to spend $238,000,000 to construct thirty-two naval vessels in the next three years. When a similar proposal came before Congress in the Hoover Administration, the pressure of public opinion was such that the plan was rejected. In spite of the argument that our navy is not yet up to the strength permitted by the London Treaty, an increasing number of Americans are coming to oppose further building because they realize that a big fleet is apt to make a nation jingoistic and put the control of its policies in regard to peace and war in the hands of professional militarists. In the present instance it was possible to allocate the money for naval construction without public discussion because Mr. Roosevelt decided it might come out of the $3,300,000,000 for public works placed at his disposal by the industrial-recovery act. The justification for the program, of course, is that it will "make work." But in the meanwhile the government is laying off workers elsewhere and cutting out important educational and scientific projects. Secretary of the Navy Swanson says that 85 per cent of the money will go directly for labor. Probably that contention would be hard to prove. Anyhow it may be suggested that if he would pay men to play leap frog, 100 per cent of the money would go for labor and the consequences would be far less mischievous.

THE NEW GLASS-STEAGALL ACT has some provisions that must have the approval of everyone interested in sound banking. These provisions include that compelling the separation of security affiliates from commercial banks, that forbidding a bank to make loans to any of its own officers, that raising the minimum capitalization of national banks from $25,000 to $50,000, and that providing that the Federal Reserve Board may warn officers of member


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banks whom it finds engaging in unsound practices, and remove them if they persist. Other provisions, like that authorizing national banks to establish State-wide branches in those States in which State banks expressly have the same privilege, are steps—even if timid steps—in the right direction. Still other provisions are more dubious. One of these is that forbidding the payment of interest on demand deposits. The intent behind this was the justifiable one of attempting to prevent the payment of dangerous competitive rates on such deposits. From 1918 to 1922, for example, 3 per cent was paid on such deposits, a rate obviously extravagant. But a flat prohibition against the payment of interest on demand deposits may lead to a fictitious growth of time deposits and a dangerous lowering of reserve requirements in boom periods. It would have been much better to leave to the discretion of the Federal Reserve Board the question of prohibiting interest on demand deposits or fixing a maximum interest rate, according to conditions at any time.

THE MOST DUBIOUS PROVISION of the measure, on the positive side, is that relating to the guaranty of bank deposits. Deposits are to be guaranteed, beginning next January 1, unless the President decides to fix an earlier date, up to $2,500. After July 1, 1934, however, a Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation is to be established which will furnish 100 per cent insurance on deposits up to $10,000, 75 per cent insurance on deposits between that sum and $50,000, and 50 per cent insurance on sums over $50,000. The guaranty of banks deposits, instead of aiming to prevent bad banking, aims to compel well-managed banks to make good the losses caused by bad banking. The guaranty of bank deposits has finally been abandoned by practically every State that has tried it—and bank-deposit guaranty laws run back for a century or more. The principal objects of such a guaranty could have been secured by limiting the guaranty permanently to $2,500 of any single deposit; such a provision, according to figures collected by the Comptroller of the Currency, would insure in full 94 per cent of the bank depositors of the country; and it would do so without unduly depleting the reserves or threatening the solvency of soundly managed banks. The measure as it stands will put a serious drain on the United States Treasury and on the sound banks, without really securing one of the objects of deposit-guaranty. Persons and firms with more than $10,000 on deposit will not leave them in a bank they consider unsafe merely because the deposit is 75 or 50 per cent guaranteed; so the law will not prevent runs on banks by big depositors. But it is on the negative side, perhaps, that the new banking bill is subject to the most serious criticism. Attorneys for the Federal Reserve Board have argued that Congress has the power to force all the State banks to take out national charters. Congress has not attempted to exercise these powers. No real control of the banking system is possible as long as it remains under forty-nine laws, and as long as the federal banking laws must compete with the State banking laws in laxity.

THE DECISION of the International Olympic Sports Committee at its session of June 7 in Vienna to sanction the holding of the 1934 Olympic games in Berlin reflects little credit on the foresight of the American delegation and none on the honesty of intention of the German representatives. General Charles Sherrill, of the United States delegation, insisted that the games be conducted "in the Olympic spirit," and that no German Jew should be excluded from the German team because of his faith or race. A motion to that effect was unanimously adopted after Dr. Theodor Lewald, spokesman of the German government, had accepted the "letter and the spirit" of the resolution. Altogether the Nazi government may boast of having won an easy victory. For the promise means less than nothing while Jewish athletes are forbidden to hold membership in German sport organizations where they may acquire the requisite preparatory training. The Reich Commissioner for Sport in the Ministry of the Interior, Hans von Tschammer und Osten, who is charged with the supervision of all German sports, has just published an outline of the aims and purposes of German sport organizations, in which he states: "The basic factor in the new development of German sport life is its Aryan foundation. Be it understood once and for all that German sport is for the Aryan, not for the Jew. The Jew cannot participate in the privileges or work of our organizations." The American delegation should withdraw from the Olympics.

THE THREE JUDGES of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Boston have reversed the decision of District Judge James A. Lowell which granted a writ of habeas corpus to George Crawford, Negro, whom Massachusetts had ordered extradited to Virginia to be tried for the murder of Mrs. Agnes Boeing Ilsley. It will be recalled that Judge Lowell's decision, based on various Supreme Court precedents, rested on the presumption that Crawford's constitutional rights would not be protected and that he would not get a fair trial in Virginia because Negroes were excluded from jury duty there. The reversal, on technical grounds, was not surprising in view of the extremely limited discretion which the habeas corpus law grants judges. But the overruling decision pointed out that this issue could be raised, if not on habeas corpus in extradition procedure, then in Virginia; and it is already apparent that the issue can most effectively be presented in the Supreme Court of the United States should Crawford be extradited and convicted—with no Negroes on the jury. Indeed, as *The Nation* has pointed out, Judge Lowell's great service was his publicizing of the long-standing injustice in the South in the exclusion of Negroes from juries, and already extra-legal effects of his decision may be noted. On June 12 attorneys for a Negro held in Alexandria, Virginia, for manslaughter after an automobile accident advised the judge, William P. Woolls of the Corporation Court, that they expected to raise the question of unconstitutional discrimination as in the Crawford case (in a contiguous Virginia county), since no Negro had been called to the grand jury which would consider the charge. To Judge Woolls's great credit, without waiting for more formal procedure, he called a new grand jury with a Negro in the panel, and further ordered the names of seven colored men to be placed in the grand jury of forty-eight. Moreover, the clerk of his court shortly after announced that the names of twenty colored persons in Alexandria would be added by the jury commissioners to the regular jury list of approximately three hundred.

A FEW WEEKS AGO we commented somewhat frivolously upon the exploit of President Robinson of the College of the City of New York, who gave battle with an

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umbrella to a group of pacifist students gathered to protest against an exhibition drill by the local unit of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. This essentially comic incident has now taken a serious turn with the expulsion of twenty students, and we feel that we should protest against the editorial attitude assumed by several New York newspapers, which have accepted without question the official account of the incident representing President Robinson as the victim of an unprovoked attack. According to many students, President Robinson, instead of being the victim, actually crossed the street which separated him from the demonstrators and thus himself precipitated the serio-comic riot. There seems no reason to regard this account as less trustworthy than the official one, and if it is accepted, it throws an entirely different light upon the whole incident. We have no desire to minimize the difficulty of the situation, which is certainly getting out of hand. The students are in a hostile mood and it is not unlikely that the ranks of the protestants are being swelled by youths interested only in the traditional college sport of baiting an unpopular official. But it is obvious that a college president who allows the situation to get out of hand, who has fallen into the habit of calling in the police almost as a matter of routine policy, has passed the period of his usefulness. The situation calls for a man of humor, tact, and ingenuity. It calls for a man who can win the respect of at least a majority of the student body and who can keep his temper under trying conditions. President Robinson, who is short-tempered, pompous, and testy, is not the man to manage a rebellious student body.

WE UNDERSTAND that Chicago has decided not to be too austere during the period of its celebration. Thus, according to our cynical contemporary *Variety,* one of the most popular attractions at the Big Show is an "art class" (with nude female model) to which all and sundry are admitted for the small sum of twenty-five cents—with a piece of paper and a stick of charcoal included. This doubtless illustrates the progress which has been made since the days of the World's Fair of 1893 when the hoochie-koochie dance was the sensation, but we do feel that the Lincoln Park commissioners missed a chance to display their ingenuity when they decided against a project to build a stockade for nude sun bathers because it would cost too much to erect a high fence free from all knot-holes. Why not build it on the exposition grounds, lease the knot-holes at twenty-five cents per minute, and thus make the whole a "self-liquidating project"?

# Mr. Roosevelt—So Far

WITH the adjournment of Congress we may pause for a moment to review the remarkable record of Mr. Roosevelt, who in less than four months in office has to his credit a larger and better-rounded program of legislation than any other President in this century has obtained in four years. Not only has he obtained all the major legislation which he sought, including much which is experimental and drastic, but—with the exception of a slight compromise in regard to benefits to veterans—he has been able to get his measures enacted practically as he presented them. In doing this Mr. Roosevelt has been vastly assisted by circumstance. After four years of disastrous drift under Herbert Hoover, the nation realized itself to be desperately in need of action, and Mr. Roosevelt correctly interpreted his overwhelming electoral majority as a mandate from the people to inaugurate almost any policy which he thought fit within the framework of existing government and without scrapping the profit system in industry. But though greatly aided by circumstance, Mr. Roosevelt must receive full credit for the prompt, adroit, vigorous way in which he used and dominated popular psychology. Immense power was granted to him by the people almost on a non-partisan basis—provided he used it at once. He showed great ability in capitalizing the moment.

But so far the President has won only the first heat in the race. The real contest lies ahead. Except for emergency action in regard to the banks and a start toward organizing the forestry corps, Mr. Roosevelt's program is still almost entirely on paper. Will he be able to vitalize it so as substantially to revive industry, and if so, will the revival have the elements of permanence or be only a wan smile before industry sinks again into coma? Rather than try to answer directly either of those questions, perhaps it is more profitable to consider what the program as a whole aims at and by what means President Roosevelt hopes to realize it.

Elsewhere in this issue we present a summary of the more important legislation passed at the recent session of Congress and a special editorial discussion of the National Industrial Recovery Act, which is the keystone of the structure. Of the program as a whole, it may be said here that it abandons openly what in fact we have, without admitting it, been bit by bit abandoning for years—the theoretical policy of keeping government out of business. Federal control of business has now frankly been assumed in many new directions, but it is only temporary in character and does not envisage socialization of industry or elimination of the profit system. The emphasis is all on reviving industry, which manifestly cannot function without some assistance. Any benefit to the worker must trickle down from the top, which is no profound change from what we have had.

Of course those who defend Mr. Roosevelt for not going farther, for not profiting by the unique moment in history when he could easily have nationalized the banks and really kept the money changers out of the temple as he so bravely announced in his inaugural, may allege that he was not elected to initiate a collective society. And it may be therefore deemed pointless to criticize him for not doing so. But it is also fair to say that the American public in its overwhelming electoral revolution of last November was seeking relief—relief from economic disaster—and that it would not have cared in what form or under what formula such relief had been secured. *The Nation* feels that Mr. Roosevelt could have and should have moved farther to the left, and that his program will fall short of success for that very reason. Certainly the beneficiaries of the profit system which his program seeks to restore have never shown any disposition to permit a sufficiently broad distribution of wealth even to insure their own preservation.

One tendency is noticeable in President Roosevelt's entire program which we surmise may prove eventually to be its greatest weakness. Mr. Roosevelt has lacked the courage or the wish to relieve distress or absorb losses through public moneys. Even within the limits of his platform and princi-

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ples, we believe that he could and should have begun a system of public borrowing as extensive as that initiated, with much less justification, to finance the World War. It might have been backed safely with increased income taxes in the higher brackets and perhaps a capital levy. As it is, the government resources for direct relief to persons in distress are tragically inadequate, and the problem is approached almost wholly by means of "public works," which offer support only to a few groups and that after a slow process of organization. Mr. Roosevelt's idea of liquidating national losses seems to be to let the weakest go to the wall. That happened in connection with the banks. Generally speaking, depositors in strong banks were saved as against those in weak banks; depositors in big-city banks were saved as against those in country banks; depositors in the East were saved as against those in the Middle West. The same tendency of "the devil take the hindmost" is seen in the new farm-mortgage and home-loan legislation. Those laws appear to hold out more help for mortgage holders than for those whose property is mortgaged.

If inflation of the currency ever goes far and prices rise largely in consequence, the benefits will go to bankers and brokers, manufacturers and merchants, and probably also to farmers. Wage- and salary-earners will be ground between rapid and big increases in prices and slow, inadequate gains in pay. Thus far the cost of industrial depression and consequent unemployment has been borne primarily by wage workers—in hunger, homelessness, and misery—and by the middle classes in the wiping out of their savings. It looks as if a return of "prosperity"—if attained—would arrive by the same route. That is, the poor will pay for it out of their hides and the middle classes out of their pocket-books. Yet such may be the only means which the profit system knows, and if so, believers in that technique—as most Americans appear to be—ought not to grumble.

Neither do we imagine that they will grumble—much—if the greater number of our 15,000,000 unemployed are finally reabsorbed into industry. If Mr. Roosevelt can accomplish that miracle, he will not be held closely accountable for the means or the human cost. If he fails, his widely famed "brain trust" will pass into history as so much brain rust.

# Business Hops Aboard

IN spite of the speed and agility with which business men and business associations and conservative newspapers are hopping aboard the national-recovery program, severe doubt and mental distress are evident in the same quarters. Like the rest of us they realize that the effects of the new law are unpredictable. Unlike many of us they feel that whatever its effects their basic economic faith has suddenly been blasted out from under them. It is instructive to read the recent statements of business leaders. Generally speaking, criticism has been inhibited; optimism is the prevailing note. But anxiety lurks underneath. Has business been handed a new lease of life or offered an opportunity to deliver itself up as a sacrificial goat on the altar of a planned economy?

Many industrial leaders are undoubtedly behind the measure. These include manufacturers who suffer from practices on the part of their competitors which will henceforth be stigmatized—and penalized—as unfair. They include also manufacturers and distributors who have given up hope that "natural" processes will serve to stop the deflationary tendencies which have brought them to ruin or near it. Many of these feel that government supervision is the price they must pay for the right to combine and to fix prices. But others look farther ahead and see in this new vast scheme for coordinating industry dangers more deadly than those that now confront them—price levels which at present represent a minimum but which may be pegged as a maximum; wage and hour scales controlled by government boards; labor unions intrenched and even sponsored by the government. They foresee evils which cannot possibly be outweighed by a relaxation of the anti-trust laws. And they believe that the huge machinery of control set up presumably for the purposes of an emergency will not be wiped out at the end of two years. Between these groups are all shades of opposition to and approval of President Roosevelt's planned economy. But since the recovery bill is now law, they are hastening to climb into the ark, hoping for a safe landing on some not-too-distant Ararat. For they know that the unrighteous will surely be allowed to perish.

One can only view with pity the psychological distress of the ordinary business man. He has compromised the doctrine of laissez faire when it served his interests to do so, but he has always clung to it as fundamental gospel. And now he is asked to believe that all his prophets, including him who so recently preached the creed of rugged individualism, were false, and that a new faith, smelling suspiciously of Moscow, is the one to which he must adhere. The rapid execution of trade codes, the enthusiastic public support by business of the control measures, must not blind us to industry's fear of the new gods it has been asked to worship.

What are the facts behind these fears? No one can possibly prophesy with assurance. We must watch the plans as they hatch out in the trade associations, in the labor unions, and in the offices of Hugh Johnson and his aids before we can gauge directions or estimate effects. But it is more than probable that industry's worst fears are without foundation. American business men must swallow one huge pill—the end of free competition. Having downed that, they can proceed to reap their usual lion's share of any good results which the recovery law—together with the other Administration measures—may bring about. Probably they cannot hope for an assured 20 or 25 per cent even if they make such amounts, as the retail cigar and cigarette distributors have already done, an integral part of their new "code of ethics." Probably they will have to deal with labor unions as they did during the war. Probably they will have to pay wages better than the starvation rates now so generally in effect (Mr. Roosevelt in his official statement advocated variously "the wages of decent living" and "a living wage for the shorter week") and cut hours to make room for more workers. But if inflation or the fear of it continues for even a time to stimulate prices and buying, if more money is spent in wages and in turn is spent for goods, if employment increases rapidly, then manufacturers and merchants will find their sacrifice amply repaid. For there is no reason to suppose that the Roosevelt Administration means to limit profits any farther than is absolutely necessary in order to increase purchasing power and thus help business itself.

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Mr. Roosevelt speaks of the "public trust that has this day been reposed without stint in the good faith and high purpose of American business." He says that the purpose of the new government controls is "to free business—not to shackle it—and no man who stands on the constructive, forward-looking side of his industry has anything to fear from them. To such men the opportunities for individual initiative will open more amply than ever." He says that "the aim of this whole effort is to restore our rich domestic market by raising its vast consuming capacity." No single threat to profits appears in his statement of the policies which will govern the administration of the new law. It is, in fact, a measure designed to restore profits by restricting practices which have proved insane and ruinous for business itself.

What the country at large and especially the workers of the country stand to gain from even the most effective administration of the act, it will take a long time to learn. If men and women are put back to work in millions and are paid "the wages of decent living," the people will have reason to be grateful. If, in addition, the recovery board succeeds in keeping prices from rising faster than wage payments—an almost inconceivable achievement but one which the President optimistically demands—the country will be still more pleased. If labor unions are restored to even their war-time size and vigor and independence, an important added check on industrial power will be established. None of these is sufficient to satisfy those who, like the editors of *The Nation*, believe that no lasting social good can be born from the struggle for profits, but the achievement of such immediately desirable objectives would at least show that the Administration, though working within the limits of modern capitalism, was determined to enforce some regard for public welfare as well as private profit.

The danger is that these essential minimum guaranties of decency will not and cannot be enforced. American business may for the moment present a docile and acquiescent appearance, but it is accustomed to rule and will attempt, as surely as it has attempted in the past, to dominate the government boards set up to rule it. Nor is it likely to admit for long that labor clauses and restrictions on profits are necessary conditions of its continued existence. Already we have the assurance of Robert P. Lamont, formerly the Secretary of Commerce, now president of the Iron and Steel Institute, that the steel industry "stands positively for the open shop; it is unalterably opposed to the closed shop. . . . If this position is not protected in the bill, the industry is positive in the belief that the intent and purpose of the bill cannot be accomplished." And the newspapers report that the workers' organizations, set up to comply with the law in various steel companies, will be patterned on the employees' benevolent associations which United States Steel has used since 1918 to keep unions out of the industry. Another interesting statement is that of L. P. St. Clair, president of the Union Oil Company of California. At a conference of crude-oil producers called to discuss price-fixing under government control, Mr. St. Clair remarked: "The utilities have their prices fixed now, and that's the only class of industry that has made profits during the depression." In view of the methods employed by the utilities in maintaining rates which insure profits even in the depth of a world-wide depression, this executive's words carry an ominous suggestion.

We do not believe that President Roosevelt or his more enlightened advisers or General Johnson intend that the recovery act shall be used to fasten high prices and low wages on the country. They doubtless want a genuine "planned economy" designed to insure prosperity through good wages, moderate profits, and a balance between production and consumption. On the other hand, we are equally certain that many, perhaps most, industrialists—whatever their present protestations—do not intend that any planned economy shall be allowed to do them out of opportunities to make as much money as possible. That reckless competition has curtailed such opportunity at present they are ready to recognize, but they will do their best to see that their hands are not tied for the future. As another oil man remarked during the price-fixing discussion mentioned above: "We'd be delighted today to have dollar oil, but if we allow this scheme to be foisted on us we will have dollar oil for the next two or three years when we won't want it." Whether the Administration can successfully resist the pressure of the most powerful industrial groups in the country, welded into even larger and stronger units under the provisions of this act, is open to doubt. To translate its good intentions into accomplished fact will take courage and determination beyond anything that capitalist politics has taught us to expect.

# Can New York Be Saved?

MUST New York City go the way of Chicago? Must the richest, proudest city in the world lapse into the abyss of bankruptcy, on the edge of which it now teeters perilously? Must its citizens suffer their 38,000 school teachers to go unpaid, their educational system to be further demoralized, their twenty-three hospitals to slight the care of the sick, while a steadily increasing burden of imposts falls upon those already in distress, public relief is suspended, and offices, apartments, and dwellings become increasingly vacant? Yes, if Tammany is retained for the next four years by the voters in the fall election.

This is an old, a wearisome story. The burden of corrupt city government has rested on the shoulders of Father Knickerbocker for decades. It has been an institution in New York since the first braves gathered in the Tammany wigwam 145 years ago with the object of scalping their fellow-citizens. But in this past century and a half New Yorkers, like other Americans bent on their own acquisitive pursuits, complacent in the midst of abundance, have tolerated Tammany. Only occasionally have they engaged in a brief and ineffective political revolt in the name of reform or fusion. Reform invariably was temporary and futile, partly because the reformers represented divergent interests and could not long maintain solidarity in the face of Tammany's "cohesive force of public plunder." More essentially, reform failed because in its brief periods of power, it did not demonstrate to the masses any benefit accruing to them from so called "good government." And today, too, reform is discredited because thinking people have become aware of the larger big-business corruption behind the grafting of lesser politicians.

The problem that confronts New York today differs

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only in degree from the problem in the days of Murphy, Croker, Tweed, and their predecessors. But in that degree there is a world of difference. Never before has the city's plight been so grave. Never before has so much that is indispensable to the attainment of "life . . . and the pursuit of happiness" been so bound up in the need of a political, economic, and social house-cleaning. When the nation was prosperous and the sky was the limit, Tammany, like our parasitic bankers, could take its toll and the public cared little. Today the disastrous consequences of long-intrenched corruption have mounted to portentous dimensions.

Can anything be done about it? Can the defeatist spirit, which long since took possession of the American voters, particularly in our large municipalities, be overcome? Can we vote our way out of the dilemma? Even that question has an anachronistic sound. A large part of the public appears indifferent; that which is not indifferent feels hopeless and helpless. Yet never has Tammany been more on the defensive than today. Never have the effects of its looting been so widely felt and resented—an inevitable result of enlarging its field of rapacity so that few enterprises or persons escape. Never before has there been so wide a realization of the necessity in New York of securing an even moderately honest, efficient, and public-spirited government if the national program of recovery is not to be completely nullified by local conditions.

As usual, the anti-Tammany forces are divided. They feel handicapped by the refusal of various "white hopes"—Governor Alfred E. Smith, Joseph V. McKee, Judge Samuel Seabury, and others—to become their standard bearers. The Socialists stand not only for "good government," in the conventional sense, but for a really enlightened program of urban life. Moreover, they have demonstrated, as in Milwaukee, their ability to materialize an idealistic purpose and have made that foremost Wisconsin city the best-governed large municipality in America. But their chance of success in New York City this fall is, alas, non-existent.

There remains a candidate upon whom conceivably most of the diverse anti-Tammany elements could unite, whose election, in so far as any one man's could accomplish it, would mean efficient and enlightened government for New York and offer the hope of more than the temporary breathing spell which previous sparse fusion victories have offered. That is Fiorello H. La Guardia. He is not only intimately acquainted with the affairs of the city through his former service as president of the Board of Aldermen, but has had an admirable and conspicuous career as a radical in Congress, with a record of single-handed achievement almost unique in the House. Big business would not welcome La Guardia because he would deal as uncompromisingly with the legalized graft of the bankers as with the politicians' rackets. While the Socialists, in accord with usual party principles and practice, will probably put a ticket in the field, they might be persuaded in the case of La Guardia to indorse him and run no candidate for the mayoralty. Any other move would tend to maintain the rule of Curry and McCooey and their vast horde of satellites. In any event Tammany is beatable. And it would be desirable for those who realize how much is at stake to submerge their differences and unite to put in office a man of tried and tested ability and character, not as a utopian solution, but as an indispensable step to a desired goal.

# In Their Courses

THERE are few of us who have not, at one time or another, glanced at the starry heavens on a summer's night. Yet not one man in ten has actually observed the simplest of its phenomena for himself or could distinguish with assurance the waxing moon from the waning. This is an age of science and an age of popular education, but there is not one person in a thousand who knows as much about the pageant of the skies as the Chaldean watchers knew several thousand years ago. We may be sure, as they were not, that the earth goes around the sun. An eclipse may be for us merely the occasion of a jolly holiday. And yet, if you ask almost any of us for more than words, we are lost. We do not even know what the sky looks like, much less why it looks as it does, or why, for instance, the "harvest moon" hangs so impressively in the eastern sky.

No one who has seen a demonstration of a Zeiss projection planetarium is likely to forget the experience or to be quite so ignorant again. This marvelous instrument, which projects upon the dome of an artificial sky the entire spectacle of the heavens, is by far the finest device ever imagined to dramatize the stars in their courses. In addition to all the major bodies, it can show each of the 9,000 fixed stars visible to the naked eye from any point on the earth's surface, and what is more, it can put the whole company through its paces. The operator may select any time and any place as his starting-point. He can then show the sky as it would appear at that moment from that spot, and he can set the whole in motion, either at an accelerated speed or at the pace of nature. The sun rises and sets, the moon and the planets go through their phases, and the fixed stars rise and set, with the pole star describing its tiny circle and certain of the constellations setting one evening not to rise again until spring has come round once more. The wonderful instrument also demonstrates the precession of the equinoxes, predicts eclipses, and calculates Easter. What is perhaps most important of all, it is not, like the old-fashioned planetaria, a series of revolving balls, but a replica of the heavens as they appear, so that what one sees is what one would see if, freed from time and space, one could look up at the sky whenever and from wherever one chose.

Several of these marvelous instruments have been set up in Germany, and there is one in Moscow. Chicago established hers a few years ago, and one is now building in Philadelphia. We only hope that the project of the American Museum of Natural History in New York will go through. Its scheme to borrow money for this "self-liquidating project" from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is said to have been approved, and it awaits now only a grant of land from the city, which, we hope, will not be denied. Experience indicates that spectators will flock to the exhibitions and that they will learn fascinating things which every educated man ought to know—but doesn't.

It is true that the instrument and the building are necessarily costly. Something over $700,000 is needed. One might, however, remember that this is less than twice what the public paid in a few months to see "Design for Living," and hardly more than it costs to produce an elaborate motion picture.

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# Chicago: Two Exhibits

By MARGARET MARSHALL

*Chicago, June 4*

A Century of Progress

IF you have never been to Chicago you will be surprised to hear that it is not a heap of ruins lying beside the blue waters of Lake Michigan and filled with the smoking guns of gangsters and the dead bones of Middle Western civilization. In spite of bank panics, Insull crashes, real-estate collapses, receiverships and receivership scandals, five years of back taxes, toppling insurance companies, unrented office buildings, 14,000 unpaid school teachers (since January), 5,000 unpaid county employees (since November), the *Tribune's* editorial policy, Charlie Dawes, Bill Thompson, the Marshall Field estate, Death Corner, repossessed cars, caught-short subdivisions, and 171,000 families on relief—in spite of all this, Michigan Avenue lies serene and wide, one of the world's beautiful streets, Grant Park is green and spacious, and a Century of Progress, risen out of Lake Michigan on 424 acres of reclaimed land, is a spectacle which only America in all its chaotic richness could produce and which must move even those who are most skeptical of world fairs in general and of Chicago's present gesture in particular.

The fair, which lies along the lake front opposite the Loop, is a parade, three and a half miles long, of modern architecture, child of science to which the show is dedicated. It is not by any means a vision of static, sure beauty; it is certainly stimulating and alive, a panorama of intense modern colors and shapes that startle the eye and disturb the mind. We shall have to find new names for these burning blues and sulphurous oranges, these dead whites, these beating yellows and tortuous greens that seem to have come from a chemical laboratory. There are many contrasts to be sure. The ancient ingratiating peace of a Belgian village is available as a retreat from the worst of the fair's larger structures, a strident green Transportation Building, preposterous and irrelevant, that was built as it is only, presumably, because it was possible. (It is said that even the official explanation of its "breathing dome" is a fake.) Prefabricated houses, clean, square, and cool, contrast with Indian tepees, dusty, round, and hot. The crude, irretrievable simplicity of the Lincoln cabin and old Fort Dearborn offers nostalgic quiet after mind-taxing hours before the complicated wonders of the basic scheme.

But modern architecture dominates the scene, as it was designed to. And for the most part, as architecture it must be called unsuccessful—except by night. Its colors and shapes are unassimilated in the American scene. In the same breath it must be said that this is not surprising. One has only to travel from the depths of Indiana to the lake front of Chicago to realize that America swallowing modern architecture must produce distortions. By the time the fair closes, a large taste of it will have been taken. For this reason one could wish that the fair architecture were much better than it is, half as good, say, as it might have been. But the distortions of modern architecture can hardly be worse than the prevailing distortions of the Victorian period that now disfigure the American small town. And they are much more easily removed. Moreover, one can cling to the hope that the Chrysler Building rather than the brick-industries house will induce imitation. The future implications of the fair's architecture are much more important than its present accomplishments, but it can be said whole-heartedly for these that they set a new and refreshing style in carnival architecture.

The Chrysler Building, as I have indicated, is the outstanding architectural piece. It is white; it is simple and pure in line; it is exceedingly beautiful. It is lighted at night by a series of perpendicular columns of dull gold and silver light. Holabird and Root designed it. I am told that its height was affected by that great American institution, competition. The original model was not so tall and more nearly resembled, in abstract white, an automobile engine mounted—a symbol of floating power. In an effort to compete with the tower of General Motors nearby, the height was raised. It is beautiful as it is. Whether it would have been even more successful if competition had not entered in is an open question—as it is in other important phases of American life in this year 1933.

The Hall of Science, which is the center of the fair, is a monstrous, many-sided stage set. Its twenty-four piercing colors and its great variety of line have the artificial garish cast of stage props that do not bear well the common light of day. Given darkness and artificial light, it is exciting and spectacular—but hardly in a style adaptable for ordinary living. The same may be said for the electrical group which faces the Hall of Science across a starry lagoon.

The General Motors Building, where one may see a car assembled, is a modernistic commonplace. It is striking but not particularly original in design or feeling. At night, again, light softens its rasping color and expands its limited significance. This, by the way, is the site of a canceled Rivera mural. Only the Chrysler among the main buildings is as beautiful by day as it is by night.

The Federal Building invites ironical comment. It is a round blue dome from which rise three white pylons of equal size, disproportionately large and awkward. They represent, my friends, the legislative, the judiciary, and the executive branches of the government.

Next to the architecture itself, the lighting is the most striking feature of the fair. The ceremony of intercepting rays from Arcturus with which to turn on a searchlight on the Hall of Science tower has been performed in true American fashion not once but many times—and will be performed over and over again until the fair closes. In true American fashion also, Arcturus must share its publicity with the telegraph company and the two electric companies that "made it possible." But it is impressive none the less, and appropriate. The searchlight is the signal for lighting up the whole fair, and the effect, particularly of those towers which are completely covered by the liquid brilliance of Neon lights, such as the General Motors and the Science tower, is new and thrilling.

The fair's exhibits, being endless, can scarcely be mentioned in the brief space here available. Their underlying

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theme is science, pure and applied, and if a layman may judge, it has been expertly developed. The demonstrations of basic scientific principles are particularly engrossing. This is an educational fair, and the visitors seem to like it. One of the most popular exhibits is the transparent man, a beautiful exact reproduction of the body and its parts; another is the General Motors exhibit of the complete manufacturing process of an automobile, which, however, is not quite so simple and easy to follow as one could wish. To me an even more interesting automobile exhibit is a table fifty or more feet long in the Chrysler Building on which are displayed the innumerable parts contained in one Plymouth car. An aluminum Pullman car is the most important railroad exhibit, though one inevitably wonders where the passengers will come from to hold down its feathery lightness. Another popular exhibit is an enormous and very accurate relief map of the United States in the Sears, Roebuck Building. It is to be turned over to the University of Chicago when the fair closes.

The housing show, which is likely to exert a future influence wider than any other, consists of eleven modern houses which have been constructed by various manufacturers of building materials. Of those open to view at present—there are many unfinished buildings and exhibits throughout the fair—the prefabricated dwelling of General Houses, Inc., seemed to me by far the most significant. It is the most genuinely modern in its conception and its working out; it is unspectacular and more livable than any other modern house I have seen. Finally, it is designed in units so that it admits of a great variety of arrangements and sizes. Howard T. Fisher was the architect and it can be reproduced for $4,500. The worst house, which should serve as a warning to us all, is the one built by the brick industry. It combines all the objectionable things that have been done with brick in the last generation. The spherical glass house, which because of its expense has little practical significance, is clever and ingratiating, and would be pleasant to live in even though it is spectacular. Its continuous circularity gives an impression of much space and strangely enough of pleasant isolation in spite of the clear glass walls.

The financial background of the fair is of special interest in this fourth year of the depression. It has been financed by bonds which are issued against the first 40 per cent of gate receipts and are further guaranteed (whatever that means) by forty men. It is estimated that 25,000,000 admissions are necessary to pay expenses, or an average of 161,000 daily. In the first six days there were only 566,000 paid admissions, and some worry is reported in administrative circles, but even skeptical people seem to feel that the fair will pay its way. At least it has struck a rising market. This does not apply, of course, to the investments of exhibitors. They will get their money back only through future sales, if any.

The fair bonds were sold to the public when it was possible. They were also given to manufacturers who furnished materials and to contractors. Moreover, the fair employees are taking a percentage of their pay in bonds, the higher the salary the higher the percentage. It is generally thought that the project, which has been administered by army officers from Fort Sheridan, has been run economically and scrupulously in spite of a good deal of army red tape in its actual administration. The much-advertised claim that it has not cost the taxpayers a cent is obviously not true, since the land was reclaimed with public money and several of the buildings were constructed out of taxes. The teachers estimate that the fair has cost taxpayers, local and federal, about $25,000,000. This is probably too high. On the other side, it must be said that the land reclaimed will become a public park and that the few permanent buildings will belong to the public. One point is valid. The same patriotic citizens who have backed the fair have helped to sabotage the city administration and been active in the dramatic fight between the teachers and the banks. But even the Chicago teachers, who know perhaps as well as anyone the irony of its very existence, think it's a "swell fair."

The answer to the question why the fair, conceived in prosperity, was carried through in depression, remains a mystery. Was it the hope of profit? In part, perhaps, though it seems a sorry hope. Was it civic pride? That would be irony indeed in Chicago. Or is it all one of those strange manifestations of the American spirit, which, because it knows its fundamental strength rooted in three million square miles of rich natural resources, is irrepressible? I am inclined to think so. After four days of circulating through the fair crowds I am convinced that Americans still believe in America. They even believe in its present incarnation, which may make it possible for the money changers and their henchmen in politics to hold out a good while longer. But they believe even more firmly in the more fundamental America, the land and its resources, and I find myself indorsing the words of an ordinary passenger on a Loop street-car: "You can't keep this country down."

### The Uncatalogued Exhibit

From the Hall of Science to one great American laboratory of misapplied science is only the few blocks to any street behind the lake front. Here lies the great uncatalogued exhibit of a Century of Progress, a city truly in ruins. Office floor space in Chicago, according to one estimate, is about 35 per cent unoccupied—but that is an optimistic picture. In the Loop the percentage is much higher. Meanwhile the Marshall Field estate, legally bound to invest in Chicago real estate, is sending up more columns of office space. No matter how much of it is rented, it will be at some other building owner's expense, and even then the amount rented will probably be not sufficient to pay expenses. In justice to the public-spirited citizens of Chicago it must be recorded that something is being done about this situation. On May 25, at the suggestion of the Chicago real-estate board, Mayor Kelly issued a proclamation to property-owners and store tenants:

> In order that Chicago may make a good showing to the millions of visitors . . . I suggest that all vacant store windows in both the Loop and outlying business sections be dressed up with either merchandise or exhibits of some sort. These windows, and also all windows of occupied stores, should be kept lighted up to at least 2 a.m.

It is announced that plenty of material is available from national advertisers to fill the windows.

Beyond the Loop stretch the dismal reaches of a great American city, manufacturing centers alternating with endless blocks of dirty gray houses where human beings must live. In empty rooms, empty houses, empty buildings, dead plate-glass windows reflect the dreary scene. Only the hum of activity could give these horrible buildings any reason for

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existing. Now they stand forth in all their inexcusable ugliness and squalor. For blocks and blocks, but always within a few minutes of the beautiful lake front, stretch the hovels for the relief of whose inhabitants Hull Houses must be established. In such sections live the 171,000 families, almost one-quarter of the population of Chicago, which were receiving relief in the form of food and clothing in April. (The number has decreased very slightly since then.) At intervals a closed bank stands out, usually for sale.

Chicago's slums are not congested as New York slums are. The buildings are for the most part very low. The physical conditions would seem to admit of low-cost housing. It has been attempted successfully in two spots—the Montgomery Ward development in a white district and the Rosenwald block in one of the Negro sections. It is said that the group of Negro residents in the Rosenwald houses are very remarkable, that they have developed unusual cultural activities. This suggests a scientific experiment worth undertaking. Pick any group of the so-called lower classes and let them live in decent houses surrounding a broad green garden. Then watch their cultural development.

To the south, beyond the vast yards where sheep from Wyoming ranges and steers from the plains of Texas meet—and part—lies one Negro section which by accident is fit to live in. It was once an exclusive residential section. Now the houses originally built for well-to-do whites are completely occupied by Negroes. For their recreation there is Washington Park, one of the most beautiful of parks, which includes a golf course, lakes, and vast stretches of grass and shade. It is a pleasant irony, this story of a conquest, but it has its dark side in the race riots of 1919. At present this Negro section is bound by iron limits on its west and south sides. The University of Chicago, another example of American Baptist Gothic by Mr. Rockefeller, is on the other side of the boundary.

To give a comprehensive idea of the political and economic forces which have brought about the chaos of contradictions which is Chicago would require more space than I can take. It is common knowledge, of course, that a political administration riddled with petty larceny and a financial oligarchy dedicated to the grander varieties have combined to produce in Chicago one of the worst city governments in the world's history. The central fact at present is the tax strike, which has lasted five years. The uncollected real-estate taxes for 1928, 1929, and 1930 total more than $154,000,000. Of the 1931 taxes $115,000,000 is uncollected. The depression with its succession of bank failures aggravated a tax situation that was already serious. And the receivership racket has not improved it. An enormous number of buildings, including every important hotel, are in receivership, and receivers have consistently failed to pay taxes. The income has been diverted, instead, to lawyers' fees and bonuses. A recently passed law which allows the county to foreclose for delinquent taxes offers hope that the receivership racket, which has reached enormous proportions in Chicago as in other cities, will be defeated. I quote from the *Tribune:*

> Informations were ordered against the Straus National Bank as receiver for the Briar Apartment Hotel, which owes $53,245 in back taxes. . . . The discovery was made . . . that the scores of United Cigar Company stores in Chicago have paid no back taxes for years. The company owes hundreds of thousands of dollars in back taxes. . . . County Treasurer McDonough . . . yesterday filed thirty-one petitions in the County Court asking his appointment as receiver to collect back taxes totaling $897,636.

It is hoped that the owners of the larger properties on which back taxes are owed will pay up rather than have their properties foreclosed.

In such facts and figures as these lie the reasons why Chicago's school teachers have not been paid. They offer the key, also, to many other problems.

America as a whole is famous for its contrasts. And none of its cities more clearly typifies America than Chicago. The ever-present contrast of the beautiful lake front, with its miles of beaches, drives, and mansions, and the squalor which lies always just behind it presents an exhibit that no visitor to the fair can or should miss. The fair, as I have said, is set upon new land which will eventually become a public park. Thereby hangs the tale of Chicago's hope for the future. The lake front can never be alienated from the public; it can be indefinitely extended. Chicago, if it chooses, can leave its slums behind it. And in this possibility the hopeful American must inevitably find a symbol. The Century of Progress was designed by artists and professors; it is administered by an army major; it is supported by bankers. And as one moves past the captive miracles of bent light and the electric eye, one thing becomes clear. The professor and the artist armed with science and social courage can outrun the banker. Harold J. Laski writes in "Democracy and Crisis" (which is an excellent accompaniment to this Century of Progress):

> As these [technical] sciences have developed, they have become organized into professions; they have created within themselves a spirit of their craft, of which the essence is a refusal to be governed by the mere motives of private gain. They display, in fact, standards, habits, purposes which escape the control of the business man because they are outside the range of the knowledge his specialty confers upon him. Just as the lawyer and the doctor have always been more than men who gain a living by the practice of law or medicine, so the engineer, the chemist, the architect . . . have developed a sense of service to an ideal in which money-making has no necessary part.

That way lies hope in America. To see this fair built on science is to realize how completely America could leave its political, economic, and social slums behind. Here, in the country's warehouse, present realities and future possibilities beat upon the mind. Both, in all their extremes, are contained within the sprawling chaos of Chicago and the ordered confines of a Century of Progress. And for an instant, too, one almost understands that great contradiction of poverty in the midst of incredible plenty. Perhaps it grows out of the very hugeness and variety of our resources and our possibilities. To control the limited resources of a small country seems relatively easy. To bring into mere mechanical coordination and control under one national roof the industries represented in the Century of Progress is a tremendous task. Even more enormous is the task of protecting these resources from the stupid looting of nearsighted profit hunters. In Chicago a vision of the future is set against the nightmare of the past and present. It is a challenging spectacle which every American should contemplate. And if he gets discouraged he may take comfort, as Americans are in the habit of doing, in an old saw. It is the one which says that the first hundred years are the hardest.

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### Footnotes to Progress

The fig leaf has been dispensed with in the statuary of a Century of Progress.

Al Capone's fingerprints are on display at the Federal Building, adding insult to injury.

Radio loud speakers stand at intervals on tall poles the entire length of the fair. One may hear the slow sad notes of radio crooners at all hours of the day. Also one may learn that Professor John Buttington, of Buttings, Indiana, is asked to call Wabash 0526.

The man generally regarded as responsible for every improvement in Chicago in the last decade is Big Bill Thompson.

The teachers are not picketing the fair, but the other day a group of students bearing banners appeared at the north entrance. They were gently herded away by kindly policemen.

The Morgan show in Washington, one of the uncatalogued exhibits, is arousing interest and resentment west of the Hudson.

Free samples of food are being given away at the Agriculture Building, but no passes have so far been issued to West Side indigents who would most appreciate the gift.

In the Midway four Negroes sit in cages while visitors, mainly white, throw balls at a target which, when hit, springs a trap and drops the Negroes into a tank of water. Very pretty.

At the telephone exhibit visitors may call up any American city free provided an audience equipped with earphones may listen in on the conversation.

Among the concessions the Streets of Paris is the most popular. It has somehow managed to capture atmosphere, mainly because of the outdoor dining terrace overlooking the lake. The fair is full of outdoor terraces for dining and resting. Will it set a new mode in America? If so, the fair will have been worth while.

Originally a square mile of land now mainly included in the Loop was school-fund land—set aside, that is, for support of Chicago's schools. Most of it has been dissipated through the years by means of political deals. What is left is rented on long-term leases at prices based on an 1885 valuation. The teachers say that if the school-fund land, on which the downtown office of the Chicago *Tribune* stands, could be made to yield a fair rental, it would not be necessary to levy taxes for the support of the city's school system. It is a psychological axiom that we dislike those whom we have harmed. Is this by any chance the explanation of the *Tribune's* antagonism to the teachers and the schools?

# Hitler and England

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

*Cambridge, England, May 20*

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, M. P., was right; Herr Hitler overnight turned England from a pro-German country into a pro-French one. Sentiment is absolutely unanimous against Hitler wherever I have gone, in all walks of life. Nor has this sentiment been radically changed by Hitler's pacific address of May 17. That it has been generously and warmly applauded by the press as a hopeful sign that Hitler is beginning to feel the weight of responsibility which should rest upon a statesman is clear proof that the English press desires to be fair and just. At the same time press and public alike are saying that words are words, and that in this case they must be backed up by deeds if they are to be taken at their face value. Hitler has done himself so much damage already that it is going to take far more than one speech to win for him the friendship of the British people.

What, for example, could have been stupider than Hitler's sending Herr Rosenberg to this country for the double purpose of spying on the German Embassy and finding out just what British opinion is? He found out with a vengeance. Ramsay MacDonald refused to receive him and so did Stanley Baldwin. Sir John Simon listened politely, but on the whole the visit was a disastrous failure. Nobody but a German representing such a man as Hitler and such a party would have been guilty of the incredible bad taste of placing a wreath upon the Cenotaph. He meant well, of course, but the man who took that wreath and threw it into the Thames expressed the feeling of 99 per cent of the British people. I met, for example, a Quaker who is usually not belligerent. He was flaming with anger at the insult offered to the British dead in the sending of a wreath by a man who stands for everything against which the men who are commemorated by the Cenotaph fought, or believed that they were fighting. It is the final proof of the impossibility of a German's understanding the feelings or the mentality of another people. Liberal-minded Germans in England who have not surrendered to the Hitler propaganda were as outraged by the entire Rosenberg performance as were the English themselves.

Nowhere, I am sure, has there been a greater sense of indignation because of the treatment of the Jews in Germany than here in England. If there is one country which is free from anti-Jewish prejudice it is Great Britain, which some sixty years ago rejoiced in a Jewish Prime Minister. The 300,000 Jews in Great Britain live in peace and comfort, and no one would ever think of depriving them of any rights or of laying at their doors responsibility for the mishaps that have come to England during the last twenty years. Many of them, like Lord Reading and Sir Herbert Samuel, have high social and business and political standing. More than that, this is a country which still believes in individual rights and personal liberty—far more than we do in the United States—perhaps because an Englishman is always ready to stand up for his personal rights and to protest if they are infringed. It is true that there are occasional lapses, as in the case of the recent arrest of some Communists, but in the main this statement is absolutely correct. Whatever he does abroad, the Englishman never for a moment contemplates two classes of citizens at home, and he also shows the utmost courtesy to people of different color; I have just lunched at the best hotel in Cambridge in a room in which there were a

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number of black West Indians here to play cricket with the Cambridge University eleven.

Nowhere has there been a quicker recognition of the deadly blows which Hitler has struck at the prestige of the great German universities than here in this university town, where a committee is being formed to help the expatriated and ruined German-Jewish intellectuals, precisely as committees were formed in war time to aid the Belgians. University men throughout England have read the appalling list —published in the *Manchester Guardian* of May 13—of nearly two hundred German men of learning who since April 13 have been driven out of their academic posts. They note that by no means all of these are Jews, that a number are pacifists, others free traders, some Socialists, and still others guilty "merely of the impartiality and integrity of mind which, in Nazi eyes, are the greatest of all crimes." Places are being found in England for a number of these expatriates. But whatever happens to them and however many speeches breathing good intentions Hitler may make, public opinion in Great Britain will never again in our lifetime hold the German universities in respect. It will always ask of any incumbent of a German professorial position whether he teaches what he believes or what the Nazis and the students compel him to say. The German university has been the greatest intellectual achievement of Germany. Who would have believed that a German government could destroy its high standing overnight?

As for the burning of the banned books and the barring from Germany of the best friends of Germany in the British press, such as the *Manchester Guardian* and the *New Statesman and Nation,* England needs no further proof of Hitler's folly and stupidity than this. Moreover, a country whose greatest and wisest institution is that Hyde Park Corner at which men are free to attack the government and even the sovereign, is not allowing the Jewish outrages to obscure the fact that according to the latest dispatches there are still more than 40,000 people imprisoned in Germany because of their political beliefs, without having had charges preferred against them and without having had a day in court. Is it any wonder that the leaders of all parties have expressed themselves freely and frankly, Austen Chamberlain leading off, with Viscount Grey and Lloyd George hastening to associate themselves with him, while Winston Churchill was quick to score against both Russia and Germany by pointing out that justice is open and fair in England, and that nobody is persecuted here because of his beliefs or his race? I have reason to believe that behind the scenes the British government has been bringing a great deal more pressure to bear upon Germany than has appeared in public. Lloyd George has just raged at Lord Hailsham for having threatened Germany with sanctions if it violated the peace treaty. It did seem like an indiscreet speech, but in view of the softness of Hitler's reply one cannot help wondering if this bit of roughness did not actually impress a man whose stock in trade for years has been threatening fire and slaughter.

How far would England go if Hitler's present words about peace, and his avowed readiness to disarm if the other nations disarm, should prove to be merely a ruse to gain time while he secretly militarizes Germany, while the Nazis bring up the present generation of boys in the arts of war and teach them, in the spirit of Von Papen, that Germans must not die on their mattresses and that German women exist only to exhaust their bodies in bearing children for cannon fodder? If the worst enemy of Hitler in England had devised that speech of Von Papen he could not have struck a more deadly blow at the standing of the German fascists in England. This does not mean, however, that anybody in England would today consider using armed force against Germany. Despite Lord Hailsham, I doubt if many Englishmen would be ready to approve the reoccupying of German territory by Allied troops. The Labor leaders, in particular, would be against the use of such force; on the other hand, the Labor Party would look upon the secret rearming of Germany with the greatest resentment and alarm.

Is it then possible that public sentiment in England would be ready for economic sanctions against Germany? There is a good deal of likelihood that it would. At least the liberal newspapers teem with the bitterest criticism of the League of Nations for its failure to move against Japan. The *New Statesman and Nation* is not the only one to declare that the League is certain "to fizzle out as a tragic farce" if Europe does not disarm and does not study the question of pooled security from a new angle. Of course the *Daily Express* type of British newspaper will come out for Nazi rule in Germany as soon as it dares, just as it favors Japanese policy in Manchukuo as an offensive against Communist Russia. To this type of mind nothing in the whole world matters so much as a setback for the Soviets; it will pay any price to achieve their downfall and therefore will doubtless welcome in time the suggestion of Herr Rosenberg that Poland trade the Polish corridor for permission to conquer the Russian Ukraine with the help of other nations. But the rest of the country devoutly hopes that some other method of curbing such countries as Japan and Hitler's Germany may yet be tried.

Even as the crisis of the World Economic Conference approaches, there is no let-up whatever in the daily attacks upon Hitler and all that he stands for. J. L. Garvin was at his best in last Sunday's *Observer* in his merciless flaying of Hitlerism. In a brilliant leader entitled "Whose God Is the State," the *Spectator* declares that the new religion in Germany is "Germanolatry." It adds that "the Germany of Goethe and Schiller, the Germany of Wagner and Mendelssohn, is forgotten," and it points out that Hitler has precipitated upon the world a vital clash between nationalism and internationalism, to say nothing of his version of the doctrine that the state is everything and that the individual citizen has no right to any existence whatever except as the merest pawn of the state, which may gamble away his life if it chooses. And along with this unceasing intellectual barrage against the Germany of Hitler we have the fact that the voluntary individual boycott of Germany and German products is not waning in England, which may be another reason why Hitler felt it necessary to make a right-about-face and coo as gently as a sucking dove, in direct contradiction to his previous saber-rattling speeches, notably that on the opening of the Reichstag in Potsdam. The boycott takes two forms—the direct refusal of Jewish firms to place orders in Germany and the reluctance of Gentile firms to deal with a country which is in so excited and emotional and perhaps unstable a state. This boycott may cease, but English ideals of what constitutes a worth-while state and a tolerable condition for the citizens of such a state will never cease to clash with the Germany of Hitler as long as that lasts.

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# In Defense of Congress

By PAUL Y. ANDERSON

ONE day last December a young man from Pennsylvania suddenly bounced up in the visitors' gallery of the House of Representatives, and pointing an enormous pistol at the astounded legislators, declared that the preservation of American civilization depended on their immediate extinction. Much tact and some force were expended in disarming him. Concerning the incident a number of editors remarked that although the young man's method approached crudeness, they understood and sympathized with the feelings which had moved him. The nature of their sympathy became apparent when examination disclosed that the young man was suffering from the type of mental disorder which produces the hallucination that some good purpose can be served by shooting promiscuously at the Congress of the United States. The editors, however, were permitted to remain at large, apparently on the theory that they are harmless. This, as I hope to demonstrate, is a mistaken notion and a most dangerous one.

Early in the present year Senator Tydings of Maryland introduced a resolution providing in general terms that appropriations for the next fiscal year could not exceed the estimated revenues. It was sound political hokum and nobody objected to it, although one of the Senator's colleagues went to him and quietly explained why such a worthy objective was unattainable. Certain contractual and statutory rights existed which could not be obliterated by the simple device of adopting a Senate resolution. For example, Tydings was proposing to withhold payments from a large class of persons who would simply proceed into the Court of Claims and obtain judgments against the United States. Economy, alas, so lovely in theory, was confronted by practical difficulties. Next day the Senator was permitted to withdraw his resolution and substitute one which meant precisely nothing, and the episode was closed. Yet within a week hundreds (for all I know, thousands) of newspapers throughout the country published the following gem from the inspired pen of Will Rogers, the nation's foremost gum-chewer and historian:

> A Senator named Tydings the other day introduced a bill whereby the government couldn't appropriate more than was coming in; that is, if you didn't have any money you couldn't dole out any. Well, the Senate stormed. The Senators called the idea treason, sacrilegious, inhuman, and taking the last vestige of power from a politician, that is, the right to appropriate money you don't have.

Thus once more we were exposed to the dreadful consequences of allowing a man to write for the newspapers who cannot or does not read them. When I reproached Will some years ago for his light and breezy habit of ignoring all facts when commenting upon the activities of Congress, he merely replied: "Boy, when the public gets tired of reading it, I'll sure quit writing it." He is not the first editorial writer to perceive the material advantages of subordinating accuracy to salesmanship, although he probably has disseminated more misinformation than any of his contemporaries, not excluding Arthur Brisbane.

In the February, 1933, number of the *New Outlook* an article appeared under the signature and official title of David S. Barry, sergeant-at-arms of the Senate, which contained the following sentence: "There are not many Senators or Representatives who sell their vote for money, and it is pretty well known who those few are." From this beginning the author launched into a sermon against Congressional demagoguery, which he interrupted only to pay a rousing compliment to Huey Long for having publicly called Senator Joe Robinson a tool of big business. After the article had been formally called to the attention of both houses, Barry was summoned before the Senate and offered time in which to retain counsel and prepare his explanation. Promptly but firmly he declined the offer, and thereupon proceeded voluntarily to confess that he was solely responsible for the bribery charge, although he had no evidence to support it and doubted whether any existed. The *New Outlook* had agreed to pay him $250. Two days of hearings before the Judiciary Committee yielded nothing more in the way of explanation or mitigation, so the Senate dismissed Barry—whose tenure would have expired two weeks later in any case.

What other course any self-respecting body could have pursued is beyond my imagination. But how did the press react? The New York *Times* said: ". . . this heat and fury will only tend to confirm the impression that the real sting of the libel lay in its real or partial truth." Another paper presumed to be respectable, the New York *Evening Post,* expressed the opinion that Barry had paid Congress "a backhanded compliment" in saying that only a few members were bribe-takers. Even the Baltimore *Sun,* on what is perhaps the most civilized editorial page in American daily journalism, voiced a suspicion that "the most resentment was among Senators who may be especially sensitive to Mr. Barry's mention of demagogues"—although on the front page of the same edition Frank R. Kent expressly noted that the most resentment had been exhibited by Senator Norris, "who is not a demagogue, and whose personal honesty is unquestioned." And so the chorus ran, all down the scale to such journalistic hoodlums as the Chicago *Tribune* and the Philadelphia *Public Ledger.*

Having obtained my daily bread from newspapers for nearly twenty-five years, I may reasonably be acquitted of any wish to plague them unduly, but such performances as I have narrated leave me suspended between wrath and mortification—and they occur on a hundred editorial pages every day while Congress is in session. Three criticisms of Congress are familiar to all newspaper readers, and it is a common thing to see all three in a single editorial. First, Congress is scolded for "investigating too much." Second, it is scolded for "talking too much." And third, it is scolded for passing "too much half-baked legislation." I am no baker, but I presume that "half-baked" legislation is the result of insufficient inquiry and discussion, and therefore I do not see how the third criticism can be reconciled with the first two. Ye editor just doesn't bother.

Time-wasting and sloth are two of the commonest accusations flung at Congress. As to these I herewith present a

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typical day from the life of a certain Senator representing a sparsely populated Western State. Being physically unable to drive his automobile and financially unable to hire a chauffeur, he boards a street car at seven-thirty in the morning, arriving at his office at about eight. For two hours he reads his mail, receives callers, and dictates. From ten to twelve he presides over a committee hearing and then hurries to the Senate chamber for the opening roll call. (It is prudent to be meticulous in such matters, since opponents have a way of making campaign issues of them.) At some time during the next three hours he finds opportunity to grab a bite of lunch in the Senate dining-room; if not, he has a tray sent to the cloakroom, from where he can keep an eye on the proceedings. When the Senate recesses—usually about five or six o'clock—he returns to his office, hears his secretary's report, holds confab with his colleagues, talks to reporters, dictates some more, and sees new callers. If he is lucky and there is no night session he gets home around seven-thirty, some twelve or thirteen hours after his morning departure. After dinner there are the newspapers to be read, including those from his home State, and then he turns to the serious business of reading reports, studying legislative proposals, and arming himself for the next day's battles. His frivolous day thus completed, he is free to turn out the lights and go to bed. He is seventy-one years old.

"You must be glad when Sunday comes," I once remarked to him.

"Yes," he said, "it's the only day when I can work without interruption."

Had this man elected to become a corporation lawyer instead of a public servant he could, without a doubt, have retired with a comfortable fortune at least fifteen years ago. Yet there is not a man in either house of Congress who has suffered more from newspaper criticism. To be sure, I do not assert that all Senators and Representatives maintain such a killing routine. Each house has an ample contingent of loafers and time-servers who, for the very reason that they do and say nothing, escape the editorial shafts launched at their industrious colleagues. What I do assert is that, for the majority, it is a dog's life on nearly all counts, demanding the heart of a marathon runner and the hide of a rhinoceros, as attested by the extraordinarily high mortality rate among members of both houses.

A Senator of more than average perspicacity recently told me he had come to the definite conclusion that the greater part of the daily and periodical press was engaged in a deliberate, overt, planned conspiracy to destroy the reputation and influence of Congress, in order that a permanent dictatorship might be established. Indeed, the most casual observer must have been impressed by the remarkable difference between the tone which editors take with Congress and their manner toward the President, the Cabinet, and the courts. Day after day and month after month, while the House and Senate are damned for every known affliction from bank closings to athlete's foot, the gaudy functionaries of the executive and judicial arms float on a sea of soft-soaping, goose-greasing, back-scratching, fan-waving, idolatrous bilge that would sicken a sultan or the gods.

The contrast may be well illustrated by a certain celebrated case. There was a man who served in the Cabinets of three Presidents. During that ten-year period the press treated him with the greasy deference which is habitual in such instances. The Washington correspondents respectfully pulled their forelocks when entering or leaving his office, and I know of no editor who ever so much as hinted that the honorable gentleman was not a statesman and an ornament to public life. But he committed the tragic blunder of abandoning his feather bed for a seat in the Senate. Within a few weeks the newspapers had made him a national laughing-stock, in less than a year his official conduct was under investigation by his colleagues, and as I write he is awaiting trial in the courts on a criminal charge. Yet it would be idiotic to assume that he was not as good a man in one job as in the other; the difference was in the attitude of the press and public.

That this astonishing favoritism is part of a deliberate plot to undermine representative government I do not believe, although here and there unquestionably are editors and publishers who dislike democratic forms and processes. Recently, for example, at the earnest and persistent solicitation of the editors of *Vanity Fair,* I composed an article along the lines of the present dissertation. It was accepted with expressions of praise so extravagant that I cannot bring myself to repeat them here, although nobody has ever reproached me for excessive modesty. Moreover, it was paid for at the figure agreed upon, plus a neat bonus, and its forthcoming appearance duly announced. Several days later I received a long and lugubrious letter from one of the editors, conveying the sad intelligence that the publisher, a Mr. Condé Nast, had discovered my essay in type and summarily put it to death. Mr. Nast, it was explained, is an ardent believer in dictatorship, although he appears to prefer to remain at a safe distance from Hitler and Stalin. The incident is typical of what to expect when a highly successful vendor of ladies' dress patterns turns his talents and attention to public affairs.

A vast amount of the newspaper quackery practiced on Congress is the result of plain incompetence and ignorance. The average editorial writer is a pensioner. Fallen arches have ended his days as a reporter, eye strain has disabled him for work on the copy desk, or in some other way he has demonstrated his physical or mental incapacity to perform useful services in the collection and preparation of news for the paper, and hence has been assigned to the humble chore of expressing its convictions. As a rule he knows little about legislative procedure, and has never seen Congress in action except as a one-day visitor in Washington. This ignorance often is responsible for the striking conflicts between editorials and news dispatches appearing in the same editions—a phenomenon well and painfully known to all Washington correspondents and the subject of much puzzled comment, I hear, among janitors, motormen, tuckpointers, cavalry officers, and other members of the reading public. No doubt it explains why the so-called "news-magazine," *Time,* regularly stages radio broadcasts in which Senate debates purport to be reproduced to the accompaniment of thundering cheers from the Senate floor. If such a thing ever happened, half the aged doorkeepers, after surviving the wounds of Antietam and Gettysburg, would die of shock.

Still another reason for the torrent of stupid, violent, indiscriminate, and deceitful abuse with which Congress, and the Senate in particular, has been overwhelmed in late years, is the circumstance that it exposes the authors to no physical, financial, or social risks. The editor who spits on his hands

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and denounces the Senate as a gang of blackguards, poltroons, thieves, and imbeciles enjoys, to all practical ends, the same immunity which he finds so outrageous when exercised by Senators. Nobody will break his jaw or sue him for damages. He will not be blackballed at the country club, or asked to curtail his note. More important still, his boss will not be dropped from the White House guest list, or plastered with an income-tax penalty, or investigated by a federal grand jury, or jailed for contempt. But let him turn his guns on the Secretary of the Treasury, as Senator Couzens did; or on the local judge, as Editor Carl Magee did, and see what happens. Or let him cut loose against the members of the local clearing-house association! But never fear. Unless he is the exceptional editor he will embark on none of these perilous courses. He will take it all out of the hide of Congress. It is the safe, easy way.

No observer with an ounce of sense and honesty would deny that there have been occasions when Congress deserved to have its pants soundly dusted. Several times during the last session of the Seventy-second Congress I was constrained to avert my face from the Senate and muffle my sobs against the marble bust of Thomas Jefferson which adorns the rear wall of the press gallery. A more depressing exhibition of futility and frustration has seldom afflicted the eye of man, and the culprits earned some of the maledictions that were rained upon them. But not all, not all. Much of the blame belonged to an Administration which for two years had repulsed every idea originating in Congress, and then devoted its expiring hours to the mean game of hamstringing a victorious opposition. And the factor mainly responsible for the situation was the simple circumstance that this was a lame-duck Congress—an evil which would have been banished years ago if the press had brought to the support of the Norris amendment the same energy and passion that it consumed in aimless tirades against the Senate.

Well, what has happened now? Partly as a consequence of the nagging to which its predecessors had been subjected, the Seventy-third Congress consented to abdicate nearly all its powers. It signed over to President Roosevelt one blanket grant after another, until the stage was reached where virtually any step could be made lawful by executive order. Someone remarked that the President was authorized to do everything except declare war. As a matter of fact, Presidents have waged undeclared wars for a long time, as witness the invasion of Haiti, Mexico, and Russia under Wilson's orders, and of Nicaragua by command of the sainted Calvin—which is to mention only a few of the more modern instances.

The coronation of Franklin I, and the ensuing consequences, have produced a profound conflict of emotions in this particular breast. Not a believer in monarchy, except in the English manner, I still am moved to un-Christian cackles of satisfaction by much that has occurred since March 4. The elements which had clamored loudest for a man on horseback obviously envisaged one who would prorogue Congress on the instant and assemble a tight little crew of financiers and industrialists to run the country. Alas! The Emperor Roosevelt started off by reaching into the Senate for three members of his Cabinet, and into the haunts of the wild jackass for two others. Instead of consulting good old Charlie Mitchell, he permitted him to be indicted. Instead of beseeching Morgan, Lamont, Whitney, Kahn, and the rest of that tribe for guidance, he cheered rapturously while a Senate committee took those eminent gentlemen to the most spectacular cleaning since Teapot Dome. He took counsel not with the lords of big business but with Justice Brandeis, Commissioner Eastman, Donald R. Richberg, and Miss Frances Perkins, with Professors Moley, Tugwell, and Berle, and with Senators Norris, Wagner, La Follette, and Costigan. In short, he manifested a disposition to rely on those who had spent their lives mastering the art of government and studying human needs rather than those who had used the government only to make themselves rich and their fellow-citizens poor.

Although this was good for the country as a whole, it certainly was hell on the editorial writers. Such mental resilience as they possess has been tried to the utmost. Fancy the predicament of the poor wretch forced to compose eulogistic phrases about the late Senator and Attorney-General-designate Thomas J. Walsh, whom he had once described as the "Montana Mud-Gunner"! Consider the sudden and awkward necessity of alluding in awed sentences to "trusted White House advisers" who from time immemorial had been only "insurgents," "radicals," and "wild men from the West"! Think of having to beat the drum for the "demagogues" of yesteryear! Picture the Honorable David Reed of Pennsylvania imploring the Senate not to submit to a Presidential dictatorship, when he had stood on the same spot less than a year before bawling: "What this country needs is a Mussolini"!

Notwithstanding the malicious satisfaction induced by such spectacles, it is impossible to suppress a growing uneasiness. It is quite possible that if the Senate had imitated the action of the House in passing the emergency bank bill without reading it, every bank in the United States would be closed today. Approximately forty amendments were made by the Senate for the simple purpose of clarifying the meaning. It makes one shiver to learn that the House also passed a bill under which the Secretary of State would have been authorized to suppress any newspaper, book, or periodical which he deemed guilty of disclosing "official secrets." It would be preposterous to assume that the genial gentleman in the White House had any desire to wreck the banking system or to establish a rigid censorship over the press. For him to study all the measures prepared by his subordinates and rushed through Congress was physically impossible—just as it is physically impossible for him to discharge one one-thousandth of the functions they nominally vest in him. Actually they will be discharged by obscure bureaucrats, getting from $2,400 to $4,000 a year, and owing their places to a lifetime of activity in the sordid realm of precinct, ward, city, and State politics. And riding home at night to their smelly flats, they will lick their lips over the fact that they have been able to affect the interests and concerns of millions who never heard of them.

Worst of all, a dangerous precedent has been reaffirmed, and I would risk my assured place at the throne of God that it will rise to plague us or our descendants. To the precise extent that Roosevelt Rex exercises his new powers with wisdom, restraint, and decency, will it be easier for some future Hoover to seize them. It is not a pleasant prospect, and it fortifies my conviction that old Tom Jefferson probably knew more about government than the average editorial writer does.

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# The Roosevelt Legislative Record

By MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

*Washington, June 17*

THE Roosevelt legislative record, whether or not we agree with its every detail, must be considered an astounding historic performance, not only because of its breadth and the manner in which it was achieved, but also because of its many innovations and its revolutionary implications. From the moment Congress met in special session on March 9 until it adjourned on June 16 it worked for and with the President as no other Congress, in recent times at least, has ever done. It was compelled to do so by an aroused public that insisted upon action and seemed to have boundless faith in everything the President did or recommended. There were moments when Congress thought of rebelling. Once the Senate wrote a "cost-of-production" guaranty into the farm bill, but this came out in conference at the request of the Administration. Again, toward the end of the session, both houses revolted against the reduction in veterans' compensation, but again the Administration intervened, offered a compromise that preserved both the principle and substance of the economy act, and had that compromise accepted. When the session closed, it was seen that the President had obtained Congressional approval, in some cases by unanimous vote, of every measure he had proposed. Several of these measures conferred extraordinary powers upon him. On the other hand, not a single bill to which he was opposed was enacted or even seriously considered. The only measure of consequence that did not originate in the White House, but came up from Congress, was the Glass-Steagall banking law. This, however, met with the President's approval. It is doubtful whether any President in the country's history has ever had more complete success in dealing with Congress. But let the record speak for itself.

The emergency banking-relief law gives the President broad power to regulate transactions in credit, currency, gold and silver, and foreign exchange; empowers him further to fix restrictions on the banking business of members of the Federal Reserve system; and authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to call in all gold and gold certificates in the country. Violations are punishable by fines running up to $10,000 and by imprisonment not to exceed ten years. The act also authorizes the Comptroller of the Currency to appoint a conservator for any national bank that may be in difficulty whenever he considers such action needed to save the bank's assets. National banks are authorized to issue preferred stock to obtain funds for emergency purposes, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is empowered to buy such stock from State or national banks to provide funds when needed to avert bankruptcies. The law provides also for the issuance of Federal Reserve bank notes against government obligations and other securities to assist weak banks in liquidating their assets.

The economy act repeals existing laws relating to veterans' compensation and gives the President authority within broad limits to establish a new pension system. It makes mandatory the retention on the pension rolls of all veterans actually disabled in the World War, and Spanish War veterans to whom pensions have been granted because of age. It reduces Civil War pensions by 10 per cent, salaries of Congressmen by 15 per cent, and authorizes the President to reduce salaries of government employees in the same proportion. The salary-reduction provisions are effective only until June 30, 1934. It was hoped by its sponsors that by this law government expenditures would be reduced at least $500,000,000.

The beer and wine revenue law legalizes the production of beer and wines with alcoholic content not exceeding 3.2 per cent by weight, and provides for the payment of an annual permit tax of $50 each by wholesalers and $20 each by retailers of such beverages. States whose laws still prohibit the manufacture and sale of beer and wines of this alcoholic content are specially protected. Regulation of the distribution and sale of the new beverages is left to the individual States.

The reforestation unemployment-relief bill authorizes the President to employ men in the construction of public works in connection with reforestation, prevention of forest fires, flood control, soil erosion, and plant-pest and disease control, and makes available for this purpose unallocated funds previously appropriated for public works. Director of the Budget Douglas estimated that $148,956,000 could thus be used. The President is authorized by the law to furnish the forest workers with such subsistence, clothing, medical attention, and cash as he may deem necessary.

The inflation-farm-relief bill was the only measure of importance to meet with vigorous minority opposition. Both houses, however, finally passed it by overwhelming majorities and in substantially the form in which the Administration had drawn it. The inflation section of the law authorizes an expansion of Federal Reserve credit to the amount of $3,000,000,000 by the purchase of government securities in the open market, and the issuance of a maximum of $3,000,000,000 in Treasury notes secured solely by the credit of the federal government. It also empowers the President to reduce the legal gold content of the dollar in any proportion up to 50 per cent of the present gold content; and to accept silver to a total amount of $200,000,000 in payment of war debts for six months after passage of the act, the price of the silver not to exceed 50 cents an ounce. The farm-relief section authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to seek to increase farm prices by allocating production of certain crops or by leasing land for the purpose of withdrawing it from production, and to license and tax processors of agricultural products to pay the cost of this relief. This section also provides for the refinancing of farm mortgages at 4½ per cent interest by the issuance of not more than $2,000,000,000 in government bonds, the government guaranteeing the interest, but not the principal, of the bonds.

The Wagner-Lewis emergency-relief bill, the law for which Senators La Follette and Costigan had fought for more than two years, authorizes the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make available out of its funds the sum of $500,000,000 for emergency-relief purposes, the money to

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be spent under the direction of a federal emergency-relief administration created by the act. A portion of the fund is set aside for allocation to the several States on a basis of need, and the remainder is to be distributed to the States according to population.

The Muscle Shoals and Tennessee Valley development bill, embodying the original Muscle Shoals program so long advocated by Senator Norris, sets up a body to be known as the Tennessee Valley Authority, which is to maintain and operate government-owned properties at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, to improve navigation in the Tennessee River, and to control the flood waters of the Mississippi and Tennessee rivers. It authorizes the Tennessee Valley board to construct transmission lines in order to distribute electric current directly to municipalities, other political divisions, non-profit associations, and ultimate consumers, if private utility companies which wish to distribute the current refuse to enter into equitable sales contracts that fully protect the interests of the consumers.

The bill providing for federal supervision of securities sold in interstate commerce or through the mails requires those who sell securities to file with the Federal Trade Commission for transmission to prospective buyers all possible information concerning each new security issue. Such statements must include, among other things, the commission or discount paid or to be paid to the underwriters, whether directly or indirectly; names of directors and officers of the issuing company; names of holders of 10 per cent or more of securities previously issued by that company; a detailed description of the business and financial condition of the company; and the salaries of its officers. Twenty days must elapse between the filing of such a statement and the promotion and sale of the security issue projected. The issuing companies are not relieved of liability by the presentation of such statements.

The Wagner national employment-service bill is in all essential respects similar to the Wagner bill passed by Congress and vetoed by President Hoover two years ago. It looks toward the establishment of a national employment system, and to this end provides for cooperation between the federal government and the States through the creation in the Department of Labor of a bureau to be known as the United States Employment Service. The director of the bureau is to be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. The bureau is charged with the task of coordinating the activities of the State employment services and of assisting States in establishing such services. The act authorizes an annual appropriation of $4,000,000, of which $3,000,000 is to be distributed to the States for the purpose of assisting them to establish and maintain their employment bureaus.

The home-mortgage bill authorizes the issuance of $2,000,000,000 in bonds by a home-owners' loan corporation, the bonds to be exchanged for mortgages. The bonds will bear government-guaranteed interest of 4 per cent, but the loan corporation is to collect 5 per cent interest from the home-owner. The owners must amortize their loans within fifteen years. In cases where mortgage holders refuse to exchange their mortgages for bonds, the home-owners may borrow from the loan corporation up to 40 per cent of the value of their properties and reduce their indebtedness to that extent. Cash loans up to 50 per cent of the value of homes to fund small debts against such properties are provided for, while the act also authorizes limited loans to enable persons to recover dwellings they may have lost by forced sale or foreclosure within the last two years. This home-owners' loan corporation is to have a capital of $200,000,000, which is to be provided by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The railroad-reorganization bill creates the office of Federal Coordinator of Transportation, whose duties it will be to encourage or require railroad companies to avoid waste and preventable expense, to promote financial reorganization of railroads, to improve railroad credit and reduce fixed charges to the extent required by "public interest," and to study ways and means of improving the general status of the carriers. The coordinator is appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. Appeals from his decisions may be taken to the Interstate Commerce Commission, but his orders, unless revoked by that body, have the force and effect of orders of the commission. The anti-trust laws may be set aside when necessary to carry out the coordinator's decisions. The railroads are to set up committees to work with the coordinator, and will be assessed at the rate of $1.50 a mile to meet the expenses which will be incurred under this law.

The Glass-Steagall bill provides for government insurance of bank deposits up to $2,500 (this section to become effective January 1, 1934); curbs the use of Federal Reserve credit which may be used in stock-market speculation; requires national banks to divest themselves of their security affiliates; legalizes branch banking by national banks within the States in which such banks are located, but only in States where the branch-banking privilege is accorded to State banks; increases the authority of the federal government over the management of banks that are members of the Federal Reserve system; and establishes a method for quick liquidation of assets for the benefit of depositors in banks that have failed.

The national industrial-recovery act the Administration deems the most important legislative measure on the entire program. This measure gives the President broad power to promote self-regulation of industry under federal supervision with a view to regulating competition, curtailing overproduction, improving wages, and shortening hours of labor. The law provides for the formation of trade and industrial associations which are to draw up "codes of fair competition" by which they are to govern themselves. Such codes must be submitted to the President for his approval. The President is authorized to work out such codes on his own initiative for industries where no action is taken. He is further empowered to license industries for the purpose of enforcing the codes. The right of collective bargaining is guaranteed to labor, and the workers are also secured in their right to maintain their own unions. The second title of this law authorizes a $3,300,000,000 bond issue to finance construction of federal, State, and local public works, and such private projects as may benefit the public generally, for the purpose of creating employment. The office of Public Works Administrator is established. This official is charged with the administration of the federal public-works program, and is empowered to make grants to States and municipalities for construction and improvement projects up to 30 per cent of the cost of labor and materials.

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# Machado Prepares to Go

By HUBERT HERRING

*Havana, June 17*

THE air of Havana clears. Sumner Welles arrived six weeks ago, ambassador of a friendly neighbor, disclaiming all intention of intervention, stressing the sovereignty of Cuba. During those weeks several events of importance have occurred in Cuba. First, official killings have ceased. No longer are mutilated bodies found in Havana streets. The "porra"—the President's armed gang—seems to have gone into retirement. Second, reprisals by the A. B. C. have ceased. The mediation of the Ambassador has been accepted in good faith by its leaders. They do not renounce their conviction that any form of intervention is repugnant, but they accept the mediatorial services of Mr. Welles as honestly offered in the interest of establishing a peaceable, just, and stable government. Third, Major Arsenio Ortíz sailed for Germany two days ago. This says much. Ortíz was one of Machado's most prized and competent killers. He was an inevitable target for the A. B. C. Fourth, political prisoners are being released. The Isle of Pines and El Principe will, by the end of the week, be virtually clear of them. There are today forty-one such prisoners in El Principe. Tomorrow ten of these leave. The rest will soon be free. Fifth, the muzzle on the press is being removed gradually. It is already possible to infer from reading the Cuban papers that there is such a thing as an opposition. It is confidently affirmed that within two weeks all restrictions save a few respecting the President's person will be removed. Sixth, the President of Cuba has invited Professor Howard Lee McBain of Columbia University to advise the electoral board on the recasting of the electoral machinery. Professor McBain has also been invited to draft plans for organizing the university on an autonomous basis. Seventh, the President of Cuba announces the summoning of a constituent assembly for the purpose of making drastic changes in the constitution. Eighth, the President announces that the office of vice-president must be recreated, and that a man must be chosen "of high character, impartial, not connected with present party strife, and without any selfish interest in political activity."

These are the eight foremost events of the past six weeks. They lead inevitably to two conclusions: Sumner Welles has proffered his services as mediator and friend, and they have been accepted; President Gerardo Machado has decided that his time is up—this has not been stated in so many words, but it is accepted as fact. The President is preparing to quit. This is the construction which responsible Cubans put upon his actions. As a result the air is less sultry.

For months the conviction has grown that Machado must go. The terror has become intolerable. Elemental human rights have been disregarded, justice prostituted, lives taken on the slightest excuse. Not fewer than 1,000 and perhaps as many as 2,000 lives have been the toll of Machado's tyranny. The university and the high schools are closed. The unhappy victims have been Cuba's finest sons and daughters. The opposition to Machado includes the great majority of the Cuban people. One of two things might have occurred to break the deadlock. Machado might have been assassinated or an armed revolt, organized from Miami or New York, might have triumphed. If Gerardo Machado had been assassinated, or if a swift coup d'etat had succeeded, anarchy might have swept the island. If neither course had proved successful, Machado might have continued on the course which has made him the most bitterly hated man in Cuba. Fortunately, the President of Cuba has taken good counsel, counsel which it is confidently believed will prevent the waste of more valuable lives. It now appears certain that with the approval of the President of Cuba the logical steps will be taken to correct electoral abuses, to open the way for fundamental constitutional changes, and especially to provide for the election of a vice-president within seven or eight months. Six steps seem probable.

First, there will be a period of mediation. For the first time during these months of Cuba's terror representatives of all sections of Cuban life will sit down at the same council table. Seven groups will be represented. On one side will be the government; on the other, six factions of the opposition—the orthodox conservatives who have refused to join Machado, the Unión Nacionalista, the Gómez liberals (whose strength lies chiefly in Havana), the A. B. C., the Directorio Estudiantil, the university professors. The Communists will not be represented. Second, out of mediation, it is hoped, will emerge a program of constitutional reform upon which all factions can unite. Third, these measures will then go to the Congress, which must assume the responsibility of calling an election of members to a constituent assembly. Fourth, the election for the constituent assembly will be held. This will take place six months after Congress has acted. The delay is a wise provision. The political parties are scattered and disorganized. A quick election would give the advantage to the government. Old parties must have time to refurbish themselves. New parties—including the A. B. C. —must have time to organize for the campaign. The electoral code must be worked out if the election is to be more than a farce. Fifth, the meeting of the constituent assembly composed of the members so elected will take place. This assembly will consider the reform of the constitution and will provide for the office of vice-president. Sixth, President Gerardo Machado will retire. This will not be promised in advance, in the judgment of responsible Cubans. It will not be written in as a condition. I find, however, that even men who stand close to the administration take for granted that the election of a vice-president will be quickly followed by Machado's retirement to more friendly shores.

Machado and all that he stands for in Cuban life must and will go. The chart seems complete, and the work of mediation is already under way. Yesterday the A. B. C. signed the pact, today the university professors. Seven or eight months will be required to carry through the program. They will be strenuous months of transition, education, campaigning, organizing. Barring accidents a vice-president should be elected by February, 1934, prepared to assume full presidential power if it should turn out that Señor Machado

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feels the lure of Cannes or Athens. From now on there will be effective guaranties or an amnesty. Telegrams are being sent to bring exiles home. Within the next two or three weeks several hundreds of Cuba's citizens will return. They are waiting now in Paris and Madrid, Miami and New York. There are notable men and women among them—Mario Menocal, Grau San Martín, Fernando Ortíz, Carlos de la Torre, Carlos Mendieta, Miguel Mariano Gómez; leaders of the A. B. C. such as Joaquín Martínez Sáenz, Juan Andrés Lliteras, and Carlos Saladrigas; leaders of the students who are busily pamphleteering in Madrid and Paris and New York. They will return home. There will be exciting days in Havana these next few months. There will be high hopes, confusion of tongues, success and failure.

The bitterness of seven wasted years will linger. There are too many of Cuba's most promising sons who cannot return. They are not forgotten. One would not ask it; one would not expect it. One can only hope that the new program for Cuba will not be brewed in the cup of bitterness or poisoned with revenge. Yet it is not hard to understand the feelings of those who say that they will never be satisfied until Arsenio Ortíz and his like taste the misery they created. It will be best for Cuba if every boat which brings exiles home takes away full quotas of the men of the discredited regime. These do not deserve liberty, but their death would serve no happy end for Cuba. Nor will it avail Cuba to nurse hatred for Machado. The system which created him should have all the attention.

The coming months will witness the concentration of factions into two opposing forces. There will be many parties, but the contest will be sharpened down to a struggle between the representatives of two ideologies. On the one hand there are "the men of '95" to use the phrase coined by the A. B. C. *Los hombres del '95* are the old men who dreamed dreams and saw visions in the nineties, who listened to José Martí and fought for *Cuba libre*. They are the Grand Army of the Republic, who are still on parade, but who have forgotten what the fight was about. They have held the offices and commanded the armies; they have large houses and ample grounds. I have talked with several of them this week. They are not bad men, but they have lost faith. Some have sold out; some have drifted. They are yesterday's patriots, and can no longer lead. On the other hand there is an eager, clear-eyed, sober-headed group of men in their twenties and thirties. Many of them have been active in the A. B. C. They have a program. They have faith and intelligence. If there are enough of them, if they can inspire a following, they may furnish the leaven which Cuba needs. These are the men of 1933.

The part played by the United States in the drama now being enacted supplies a new and striking chapter in Caribbean history. Disclaim as Mr. Welles may any intervention in Cuban affairs, it is he who must finally receive the praise or blame. He is accepted as a friendly mediator. On every hand I hear expressions of confidence in his integrity and ability. He has won a large place in a period of only six weeks. There are Cubans, of course, who accuse him of high-handed interference. Some of these are in the Machado camp, and view him as a threat to their intrenched power. Others are of the left, and evidently prefer to have the Cuban problem fought out rather than talked out. Mr. Welles will be generously damned, no matter what he does or does not do: I submit, however, that the damning should be withheld and that he should be given a fair chance.

The role which Mr. Welles plays is not easily classified. If he were a citizen from Belgium or Mars, his mediatorial function would be easily defined. As a representative of the United States, a nation which happens to hold a chattel mortgage with a stiff reversionary clause bearing the lamentable Mr. Platt's name, it is a bit difficult to separate Mr. Welles the mediator from Mr. Welles the Ambassador. After all, the United States *can* intervene in Cuba. Has Señor Machado suspected that it *might* intervene if the proffered mediation were spurned? At any rate Mr. Welles has the opportunity to help Cuba through to happier days. He has already manifested leadership of strength and charm. I believe that he will have the backing of the best elements in Cuba and in the United States. The final test will be the direction in which his policy leads. If it should merely form another precedent for interference in Cuban affairs, a policy which has served to create the very situation now faced in Cuba, I should vote against Mr. Welles and his persuasive mediation. If, on the other hand, Mr. Welles strengthens the hands of those who aspire to create a stable and self-respecting national life, if his policy tends to provoke experiment in social and economic control, then I am enthusiastic for Mr. Welles and his mediation. At least, this is the most hopeful hour which has come to Cuba in many a weary year. Cuba has a new generation of potential leaders. They have been tried by fire. *Cuba libre* may still be realized.

# The Nazis at Geneva

By ROBERT DELL

*Geneva, June 1*

THE actions of the German delegation at Geneva since the date of Hitler's Reichstag speech have made it plain that the speech was a complete climb-down. For the Germans have withdrawn all their important amendments to the British draft convention and now accept the draft almost as it stands. This is a very clever diplomatic move almost certainly inspired by Mussolini, whose influence was reinforced by the complete isolation of Germany at Geneva and by such ominous symptoms as the hostile reception of Alfred Rosenberg in England, Hailsham's warning speech in the House of Lords, and President Roosevelt's message. The purpose of the move is clear enough—to shift on to France the blame for the failure of the Disarmament Conference, if it should fail. It is to be hoped that public opinion in the United States and elsewhere will not be taken in by this transparent device. Clearly France cannot and ought not to accept the British draft convention as it stands, for it is primarily a convention for the rearmament of Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. The reductions of armaments that it contains are trivial and almost worthless, but it would enable Germany to rearm immediately and, with one single exception, completely on land. Had the Germans had any sense they would have accepted it at once when Ramsay MacDonald first proposed it in March. They would then have put France in the position in which, under Mussolini's guidance, they have put her now, and with much more chance of persuading the world that France was in the

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wrong. For during the last two months the world has had ample evidence of the real aims of the "new Germany."

By its 96th and last article the convention annuls all the disarmament provisions of the peace treaties with Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, respectively, so that henceforth those countries will be subject only to the limitations imposed in the convention itself. As regards land and air armaments those limitations are purely qualitative. Mobile land guns are to be limited to a maximum caliber of 115 millimeters, tanks are to have a maximum weight of sixteen tons, and military and naval aircraft, with the exceptions of troop carriers and flying boats, a maximum unladen weight of three tons. No dirigible is to be constructed or acquired during the period of the convention, but countries possessing such dirigibles may retain them during that period. This is the only qualitative limitation of land and air armaments that appears in the convention and, as has been said, there is no quantitative limitation at all and not even any budgetary limitation. Germany can have as many mobile land guns of the maximum caliber and as many tanks of the maximum weight as she pleases. But whereas countries already possessing mobile land guns with a caliber exceeding 115 millimeters may retain those not exceeding 155 millimeters until they are replaced by new guns of or below 115 millimeters, Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, which possess no such guns, will not have that privilege. This is the only exception to the complete rearmament of Germany on land. The result will inevitably be competition in armaments, for the convention does not even forbid the other signatory Powers to increase their existing land armaments.

Germany and the other disarmed Powers are to be allowed no military or naval air forces for the period of the convention, and their naval armaments are to be stabilized at their present strength until December 31, 1936; that is to say, in effect the quantitative and qualitative limitations of naval armaments in the peace treaties are to remain in force until that date. After that date Germany will be free to rearm on the sea. France may be excused for thinking these provisions a little cynical. A German navy and a German air force can be a menace to England, whereas a German army never can be. A German army, however, can be and, if the Hitler regime continues, will be a serious menace to France. It is true that the British draft convention embodies the French proposal for the "standardization" of European continental armies, which involves the substitution of a short-term conscript army in Germany for the Reichswehr. For my part, I agree with the Poles that the French are mistaken in thinking that this change would diminish the risk of war, and I am convinced that the restoration of conscription in Germany will be deplorable. The best way to "standardize" armies would be to abolish conscription and have small professional armies in all countries, but the Poles would not agree to that any more than the French would.

The most serious blemishes in the draft convention are the omission of any regulation or control of the private manufacture of arms and the complete inadequacy of the provisions for the international control of armaments. The proposed permanent disarmament commission, which will have about sixty members, is much too large a body to be intrusted with the control of armaments. Moreover, the commission is to act only when infractions of the convention are alleged to have occurred, and its decisions are to be made by a two-thirds' majority of all the members, whether present at the meeting or not. The result would probably be that no decision would ever be reached. As invariably happens at meetings of committees of the Disarmament Conference, at least a third of the members of the commission would abstain in any vote. The French are quite right in insisting that this sort of control is valueless. There must be small bodies composed mainly of military and naval experts who will not wait to hear of alleged infractions of the convention but will periodically visit every country and make a thorough investigation. Norman Davis's speech on May 22 showed that on this point the American delegation agrees with the French. Control, however, will never be really effective so long as the private manufacture of arms continues.

The French say that there must be no rearmament of Germany during the period of the convention, and on that point too they have the support of President Roosevelt's message and Norman Davis's speech. All the signatories of the convention must of course undertake not to increase their armaments during the period. The French are right, too, in saying that they will not reduce their armaments at all unless there is effective control with sanctions behind it. Of what value is the signature of Hitler or Mussolini to any convention? They will observe it only if they know that force will be used, if necessary, to make them observe it. For this reason it seems to me unlikely that Italy and Germany will accept effective control. If they do not, they and not France will be responsible for the failure to arrive at a convention. The adoption of the draft convention as it stands would be a disaster to peace.

France is now the last rampart of democracy and liberty on the Continent of Europe. It would be a crime against European civilization for any French government to sign a convention reducing French armaments in the smallest degree without a guaranty that England will join in any measures that may be necessary to force Germany to observe the convention. Hitler's speech on May 17 has not changed the fundamental situation in the very least. Naturally Hitler wants peace until Germany is strong enough to make war with a good chance of success. The real spirit and aims of Nazi Germany were revealed in Von Papen's speech at Münster on May 14. Governments that really desire peace do not hold up war as an ideal and declare death on the battlefield to be the only death worthy of a man. I was in Italy in March. There a whole nation is being trained from early childhood in the art of slaughtering their fellowmen. Bands of young Fascists in their teens parade the streets singing songs in praise of the "glorious" dagger, the "holy" bludgeon, and the machine-gun. Governments do not do this sort of thing for no purpose. If we have any faith in the pacific declarations of Mussolini or Hitler we shall be dupes deserving all we shall get. The French seem to be alive to the realities of the situation. At the moment of writing, the current opinion in France against the proposed Four-Power Pact* is so strong that the French government may be unable to sign it. It is to be hoped that they will not; however colorless and even meaningless it may be, no pact should be signed with Hitler or Mussolini. One does not sign pacts with bandits and brigands. One takes measures to reduce them to impotence.

* The Four-Power Pact was signed at Rome by the Ambassadors of France, Great Britain, and Germany, and by Premier Mussolini on June 7.—Editors The Nation.

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# In the Driftway

EVEN in these gray depression days there are bright rays which the Drifter likes to reflect to his readers. Among others is the establishment of a through steamship service—the first in history—between New York and Chicago. Of course it might have happened before—ever since canalization has made possible the passage of deepwater vessels over the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes route. But somehow it never did happen before, and although the inauguration of this new service has been passed over in the newspapers with a few obscure paragraphs, the Drifter finds a good deal of drama in it.

* * * * *

ODDLY enough, the company responsible for the innovation, the Colombian Line, has sent out its vessels hitherto in quite another direction, with very different cargoes. Up to now its ships have traveled the warm blue waters of the Caribbean, and it ought to be a pleasant change for the crews of such vessels as may be assigned to the new service to travel a northerly route in summer, which of course is the only season when it can be navigated at all. Unfortunately, present plans do not call for transporting any passengers. The Drifter hopes passengers may get a chance later. It would make a beautiful water trip—a week—with little for even the poorest sailors to fear from seasickness, for the ocean passage bewteen New York and the Gulf of St. Lawrence would take only a couple of days. After that there would be the splendid St. Lawrence River, with its Thousand Islands and the cities of Quebec and Montreal. There would be the canals and Lakes Ontario and Erie. There would be the Detroit River and the Automobile City. Finally, there would be the Straits of Mackinac and Chicago with its exposition.

* * * * *

WHILE on the subject of inland-water traffic, the Drifter hastens to offer his condolences to Captain Daniel F. McAllister, whose steamboat Bear Mountain cruises the Hudson River. Captain McAllister was approached not long ago by a woman—a member of a "society group"—with a view to chartering his craft for a weekly series of night trips on the river. Captain McAllister readily fell in with the plan, and was tickled at the prospect of a bit of new business until informed that the "society group" wanted him to paint his steamboat pink! He had seen white ships; he had seen black ships; he had seen gray ships. During the World War, if he thought back, he must have recalled seeing camouflaged ships of every color of the spectroscope. But he couldn't—he just couldn't—see a ship, at least his own Bear Mountain, traveling the historic Hudson like a freshly boiled lobster. He would be sunk with the anchor first. It might not matter so much at night, but where would he hide the blushing steamboat by day? The Drifter, who is strong for color, thinks Captain McAllister is too conservative, but the Drifter appreciates, even when he does not share, a sailor's prejudices. He sympathizes with Captain McAllister in his insistence that no "society group" shall strike his ship pink.

THE DRIFTER

# Correspondence

## Guaranty of Bank Deposits

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

The fact that the guaranty of bank deposits does not stop failures is plainly evidenced by the record: 36.5 per cent of the banks in the seven States that have tried the guaranty of deposits have failed during the period from 1921 to 1930, when the figure for the entire country was 22.7 per cent. Here is the score sheet showing how these States rolled up a total deficit of $100,000,000 in an average of seventeen years by trying to guarantee against the errors of human beings:

Kansas enacted a guaranty-of-bank-deposits measure in 1902. After twenty years of hard usage it was discarded. Deficit, $7,000,000.

It took Mississippi only sixteen years to recognize the failure of its measure, and at the expense of a deficit of from $3,000,000 to $4,000,000.

Nebraska enacted a statute guaranteeing bank deposits in 1909. When a deficit of $20,000,000 faced the fund after twenty-one years of existence, repeal was the only avenue of relief.

Only twelve years passed between the enactment and repeal of a similar measure in North Dakota. The deficit was $14,000,000.

Oklahoma either held better cards or knew a few more tricks than her sister States, for her deficit was only between $7,000,000 and $8,000,000. Her measure was enacted in 1907. In 1921 it was found to be inoperative, as the fund was practically insolvent.

South Dakota first enacted a guaranty-of-deposits act in 1915. In 1925 it was repealed, but in 1926 was reenacted. A year later it was amended; the deficit had reached $32,000,000.

Texas tried bank-deposit guaranty also. At the end of eighteen years the fund's deficit was $16,000,000.

*Manchester, N. H., June 12* J. EDWIN GOTT

## Seeing France in America

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

In the list of inexpensive "escape" places it seems to me that French Canada deserves more extended mention. Quebec has a history, superbly written by the American, Francis Parkman, to be profitably read both before and after visiting the vicinity; a religion which, I am assured, is a unique survival of seventeenth-century Catholicism; and a foreign language. Many Americans taught French by American teachers think Canadian French is not "good" French, but it is perfectly intelligible—and grammatical—when spoken by educated persons, and interesting for its localisms.

An out-of-doors vacation can be wholesomely combined with the social quest; all along both shores of the St. Lawrence are little towns where the Québeçois of the professional or white-collar class sends his family for the summer; he himself joins them for nights or week-ends, depending on the distance. Both the Canadian National Railway and the Canadian Pacific can furnish names of boarding-houses where one can identify himself with the French—to do this is, of course, the chief reason for going. Mountain lovers can find accommodations in the Laurentides. And in the middle of the river, a few miles east of Quebec, is the Ile d'Orleans—an island wholly unexploited but not "primitive." Five of its six fruit-raising hamlets are wholly French-speaking, each with its lovely little eighteenth-century church enriched by wood-carving or other work dating

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from the St. Joachim school. When country life and food pall, it is easy to take the ferry to the city, and continue to "go French" from morning newspaper through shopping, museums, movies (made in France), and meals—with legal wine. To settle down in such a place for a few weeks enables one to come closer to an appreciation of a different people than is usually possible in a like length of time, much of which must be spent in travel.

*Portland, Me., May 25* EDITH NICHOLS SNOW

# For Socialized Industry

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

The League for Industrial Democracy has just concluded its most important year of educational activity in behalf of a better social order. During the year members of our staff have spoken at over 100 colleges and universities, and have aided in the organization and strengthening of scores of student groups. We have conducted L. I. D. lecture courses, with the cooperation of representative groups, in 45 cities from Rhode Island to Kansas and Georgia, and have brought to the service of these communities some of the ablest social thinkers of the day. We have arranged numerous radio programs over a national network, and have received from 400 to 1,500 requests for the addresses delivered at each radio symposium. We have helped to organize, particularly in Chicago and New York, thousands of unemployed; conducted notable pamphlet, research, and editorial services; organized labor Chautauquas in mining villages; conducted educational trips abroad; and aided organized labor in its industrial struggles through the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief.

Everywhere we have found a response to our message far greater than in former years. But while the depression has led increasing thousands to realize the vital importance of our message of a planned social order on the basis of production for use and not for profit, it has forced a number of our supporters to cut their contributions and has brought us face to face with a serious financial situation. The league needs to raise in contributions and pledges $15,000 more than is now in sight if it is to pay its present salary, printing, and other bills and is to continue its present effective activities.

May we ask those interested in the continuance of this important work to send us in this critical situation a generous check or pledge. Checks should be made out to Stuart Chase, treasurer, League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT NORMAN THOMAS
JOHN DEWEY MARY FOX
STUART CHASE HARRY W. LAIDLER
*New York, May 22* PAUL BLANSHARD

# For "Desperate Citizen"

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Having read the letter signed "Desperate Citizen" in the May 31 issue of your magazine, I wish to say that your correspondent has evidently not been fully informed about what he can do in order to raise money on his insurance policy. The companies are helping policy-holders when a real need can be proved. From what "Desperate Citizen" states, he should have no difficulty in proving his need. If he will communicate with P. S., 84-15 Cuthbert Street, Kew Gardens, L. I., advice will be given him which will be beneficial.

*Kew Gardens, N. Y., June 5* P. S.

# Let Us Gamble Lawfully

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Now that the government is about to restore the legal respectability of the ancient industry of manufacturing liquor and make it contribute to federal financial support, may it not be an opportune time also to restore the lottery industry by an act of the Congress? The interest of our citizens in lotteries is evidenced by the fact that millions of dollars each month go out of our country to purchase tickets in lotteries lawfully conducted in other lands. To these outgoing millions of dollars must be added the additional millions spent by our citizens for tickets in bootleg lotteries clandestinely operated in the United States.

People will gamble; it is a part of the mental, emotional, and spiritual nature of normal men and women. No act of government can eradicate this instinct. Moses was too wise to include prohibition of drinking and gambling in his famous Ten Commandments. The lottery boldly challenges the government to accept it as an available means of unemployment relief.

The records show that by an Act of Parliament money was raised by lottery for the British Museum. Also England provided money for our Virginia colonists by means of a lottery. Thomas Jefferson heartily indorsed a lottery created by Congress. John Adams and Benjamin Franklin obtained a "lottery loan" to meet government bills. John Hancock signed lottery tickets to finance the rebuilding of Fanueil Hall—"crade of liberty." Harvard College authorized a lottery. William and Mary, Dartmouth, and Union are other colleges that have financially benefited by proceeds from lotteries. Seventy lotteries were authorized by Congress prior to 1820.

At the time of the Paris Exposition in 1878 France authorized a lottery for the happy purpose of meeting "the expenses of workingmen visitors." Well might our government at this time authorize a lottery to meet the bread-and-butter expenses of its unemployed citizens. It could evolve a plan for a lottery to be so controlled and supervised by government as to assure to the purchasers of tickets at home and abroad the absolute honesty and impartiality of its administration. Such a lottery would afford the people an opportunity to speculate on an honest and definite basis such as is not now afforded by stock exchanges. The lottery calls for no additional cash—no margins to protect money invested. Nor are lottery winnings and losses subject to control by prearrangement, by groups of market manipulators.

*New York, March 21* WILLIAM COOPER

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# Books and Art

## Blame Them

By GENEVIEVE TAGGARD

With the first pang, she knew the whole:
The loom's behavior: how the edge
Once the thread pulled, raveled the mutual soul,
And how each night, with the night's pledge

How to set, herself, the mutual task again.
He wove his piece with troubled eyes,
Astonished at the strands of pain
Until with practice he grew clumsy-wise.

She, like an adept, quarreled and sang;
You might have joyed to see her face,
Lit by such zest from the first pang,
So poison-sure from the first embrace.

But both were broken-hearted—she
With a deadly touch she could not quit
Worked the design to the end, and he
Thought only he was to blame for it.

While she, so poison-ardent and so deft
Traced in their love a fair picture of his pain;
Right hand the subtle assassin to her left:
Told all the mean geometry of her brain.

Judge here, you lyric and imitative lovers,
Who take emotions from a book by rote,
What brand of poison this was. Let who first discovers
Name for this evil, plan an antidote.

## La Jeunesse de Tarzan

*The Ape and the Child.* By W. N. Kellogg and L. A. Kellogg. Whittlesey House. $3.

CERTAIN of the photographs which accompany this volume show a bediapered young ape, riding in a perambulator, manipulating a kiddie-kar, and in general comporting himself like any suburban "Junior" of the enlightened middle class. Inevitably, therefore, they suggest some of the pleasantries current in the days when Voronoff was news, but an examination of the text reveals that we have here to do, not with the startling results of testicular rejuvenation, but with the experiment of a young professor of psychology at the University of Indiana who brought up a chimpanzee borrowed from the Yale Anthropoid Experiment Station on a footing of perfect equality with his infant son. Being a product of my own time, I must confess to a lively interest in the results of the experiment. Being also, I hope, capable of a certain detachment, I cannot but be aware that no age except our own could have conceived such a project or supposed that it would prove anything of value, and I find myself wondering whether or not the remoter future will conclude that in this, as in many other of our typical enterprises, the joke was on us.

The experiment, which lasted nine months, began when the ape was seven and a half and the child ten months old. Its purpose was twofold: first, to see if any light could be thrown upon the relative importance of heredity and environment in determining development, and, second, to show that even the most enlightened technique of animal experimentation previously employed put the subject at a certain disadvantage by according it less consideration than is given to a human being. The ape, therefore, was treated at all times precisely as the child was treated. At no time was it caged or chained, and at no time was any effort made to teach it "tricks" as distinguished from the activities normally encouraged in a child. The result was certainly to demonstrate that the chimpanzee readily acquired various "human" habits which it would not have acquired in its native environment. Thus it learned without much difficulty to walk upright, wear shoes, eat with a spoon, obey verbal commands, take its nap at regular intervals, offer some aid in dressing itself, and (unlike some children) to refrain from wetting the bed.

As to the question of the relative importance of heredity versus environment, nothing more conclusive emerges than a renewed demonstration of the fact that certain of the differences between the ape and the child appeared to be the result of the one and certain others to be the result of the other. It was, however, rather startlingly evident that in many of the tests applicable to so young a child the ape proved himself definitely the superior. It goes without saying that his strength and agility exceeded that of the infant human being, and it is not surprising that his "reaction time" to sudden stimuli should be shorter, but it is somewhat startling to find that he seemed to learn quicker by the method of trial and error and also to have a longer memory span as tested by the classical "delayed reaction" test. At the end of the experiment the child could say a few words and the ape none, but there was no great difference in the number of phrases—such as "show me your nose"—which both could understand, and the ape learned more quickly than the child to pick out on command the picture of the "bowwow" from a colored picture-book. Perhaps the most striking, as well as probably the most significant, superiority of the child was its apparently more intelligent interest in unfamiliar objects and its very evident longer span of attention. The Gesell tests—simple behavior standards and performance tests originally designed for pre-school children—showed the ape at first superior and then inferior. When the ape was eight and the child ten and a half months old, the score stood four to three in the ape's favor if "one" was counted for each test passed by either subject but not by the other. A month later this score became six to six; seven months later it was fifteen to twenty-three.

The authors defend themselves against the obvious criticism that the experiment was concluded too soon by saying that the criticism would have been equally valid no matter how much longer they had continued. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to feel that the results would have been somewhat more striking if the experiment had been carried on until the human infant had reached an age where its divergence from the normal anthropoid ape was greater. Either the chimpanzee would have developed traits very startlingly more human than any previously observed in any such creature, or the point at which the divergence between the child and the ape began to be very marked would have been determined. As the record now stands, it has a curious fascination, but there is some difficulty saying just what it teaches about apes as distinguished from what it clearly shows about man and his current interests. With all due respect to the labors of the experimenters and with a full acknowledgment of the interest I took in their work, I find myself forcibly reminded of two sentences in Will Cuppy's classical compilation of natural history: "Frogs will eat red-flannel worms when these are waved before their noses by biologists. This proves a great deal about both parties concerned."

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Whether or not the child showed any signs of developing an inferiority complex as a result of constant association with a more gifted companion is not stated.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

# The End of a Masterpiece

*The Bridge of Dreams. Being the Second Volume of "The Lady of the Boat" and the Final Part of "The Tale of Genji."* By Lady Murasaki. Translated from the Japanese by Arthur Waley. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

MR. WALEY may be glad that he has finished his translation of Lady Murasaki's matchless novel, but any reader who has followed him through to this sixth and last volume will approach its closing pages with the keenest regret. For henceforth there is nothing more to learn about any of the eight hundred persons who compose the population of the work—or, if that is too many to miss, for any of the dozen or so heroes and heroines who in two thousand tall pages have become so familiar. They have become known to the reader through all the devices which the art of fiction provides; and what is more to the purpose, they have stolen into his thoughts, almost into his senses, through the clear medium of Lady Murasaki's own character—intelligent, witty, erudite, seasoned, and sensitive. All of them have been persons of the highest social class in the Japan of one thousand years ago; all of them have been remote in time and place, and exquisitely limited in outlook; yet nothing about them has ever been difficult to understand. On the contrary, they have seemed to represent all that there is in human nature, each one of them being a sharply defined personality and all of them together composing a fascinating, complex society.

The manners of this society are so strictly regulated that for any novelist not a great one they would be a fatal handicap. For Lady Murasaki they have actually, I think, been an advantage, since—being a great novelist—she has known how to make capital out of the conflict which she must always present between decorum and emotion. The court of Kioto is so elaborately decorous as to make an observer suppose that an emotion would never be felt, let alone expressed, in those halls of bamboo and silk. Yet the book is saturated with feeling, and its people are constantly in the toils of passion. No passion but has a world to denounce it as illegal or indecent; yet the desires of these ladies and gentlemen live on and complicate themselves, and thereby supply the stuff out of which perpetually fresh romance is woven. In a perfectly free society—that is, one without manners at all—the art of fiction would probably be impossible. This is not saying that the multiplication of manners brings great novelists into being as a matter of course. They happen only now and then at best. But they are happiest when they can deal, as Lady Murasaki does, with the kind of conflict I have indicated—and when, as I suspect was true of her, they are utterly without the ability to imagine another species of world.

The present volume, briefly, goes on with the two heroes, Kaoru and Niou, who were so brilliantly introduced in volume five; and with the two remaining daughters of Prince Hachi, Kozeri and Ukifine. The later not only is the principal person of the story; she serves by the variety of her sufferings to draw the whole work together at its conclusion—if its mere stopping on the last page can be called a conclusion. It can, I think, be called a very skilful conclusion, as everything else in the book is skilful. But there will be readers whom only Mr. Waley's fine introduction can convince.

MARK VAN DOREN

# How the Bankers Do It

*The Investor Pays.* By Max Lowenthal. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

MAX LOWENTHAL, who has written "The Investor Pays," has driven his lancet into a very ripe area of infection when he opens up the subject of that most mysterious and bewildering and juiciest of all rackets, the receivership of corporations. In the present volume the author wisely selects a single operation—the failure of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad—and by telling the story of that wreck and its legal rehabilitation, manages to bring to life for the reader the swarm of bankers, lawyers, promoters, and others as they go about the business of putting a railroad through the process of receivership. The selection is, of course, a good one. First, this was the greatest railroad receivership in our history; secondly, the whole subject was exhaustively studied by the Interstate Commerce Commission; and, thirdly, the facts are hardly in dispute, for they are all amply attested by official records.

That hoary legend that men in private business struggling for profit are, somehow, marvels of probity, prudence, and efficiency, as compared with the well-advertised inefficiency and dishonesty of public life, has been getting some hard knocks lately. The Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad was directed by men whose names stood near the very top of the list of our financial and industrial wizards—William Rockefeller and his amazing son, Percy; John D. Ryan, head of the Anaconda Copper Company; and others scarcely less distinguished. The bankers were the eminent Messrs. Kuhn, Loeb and Company of New York. In the first phase of the story Mr. Lowenthal lets you see these brilliant gentlemen mismanaging this prosperous railroad into bankruptcy. What you see is incredible. Surely these cannot be the wizards who made America rich and great? They planned and built a transcontinental extension. They estimated it would cost $60,000,000. It cost actually four times that sum. They did this without plan, without thought almost, with a recklessness and disorder which can hardly be credited. We see the officers of the road buying a couple of small, defunct railroads at prices which make one rub one's eyes. We see the bankers cleaning up a neat $1,800,000 in a bond transaction which another banker described as "a pretty juicy piece of business." We see a large section of the road being electrified at the behest of a director who had copper to sell. It is to be regretted that Mr. Lowenthal did not find space for what has always seemed to me the worst chapter in this whole shameful record of incompetence and greed—the transaction by which the late John D. Ryan, a director, made contracts for furnishing power to the railroad in a series of operations from which he netted a fortune.

The result of all this was to bankrupt the St. Paul road. Having set it out very vividly, Mr. Lowenthal then presents a fascinating picture of what happens when a great corporate hulk begins to starve, to gasp and flounder and falter and sink down as the clever and greedy birds gather over the wobbling carcass. Mr. Lowenthal's thesis is that the law as it stands, the courts as they are constituted mentally, corporate practice, all are formed and designed to enable the bankers to rise to power the moment insolvency occurs, and seize the prostrate corporation and "reorganize" it for their own purposes at the expense of the helpless investors who supply all the money.

This is a subject of grave importance now, particularly as so many powerful corporations are in receivership. Paul Cravath, whose firm represented the bankers in this transaction, once said that in twenty years he had seen not less than half the corporations in America pass through receivership. At one

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time, some years ago, about 233 corporations in New York were being administered by eight federal judges. At that time one of those judges had become notorious for his popularity among lawyers seeking to throw corporations into receivership proceedings in his court. In his department alone at one time, railroads, street-car companies, steamship companies, industrial concerns all over the globe were being administered from a bench which was set up originally as a tribunal of justice.

Mr. Lowenthal lets us see the bankers and their lawyer servants at work, pulling the wires, devising the stratagems and executing the plans by which the property slowly settles into their net. There is something devilishly cunning about it. What impresses the layman—what has always impressed me—is the use which otherwise intelligent and reasonably honest men make of legal fictions to carry out intrinsically dishonest transactions. The receivership is provoked by a suit against the corporation. The lawyers find the litigant and represent him in the suit. Thus they appear on both sides of the case by reason of a pure fiction. Next they turn up as attorneys for the receivers. We see them shopping around for a judge. We see the bankers then carefully getting control of all interests. There are many, and all with hostile and contradictory positions—the corporation itself on one side, its creditors on the other, the various classes of bond-holders, preferred stockholders, common stockholders. Ostensibly each of these is represented by a separate committee and separate counsel. But in fact all are dominated and directed by the bankers. And what is quite as bad, those men among the directors and officers whose negligence or offenses of management might have subjected them to court action are thus protected.

We have plenty of friendly receiverships now. The Insull case was a notable example, when Samuel Insull was made one of the receivers. We have the I. R. T. in New York. The receiverships growing out of the Kreuger and Toll failures are another. And in many of these cases we have what always shocks the uninitiated who are schooled to look upon federal judges with awe—the shopping around for judges—a system under which the men who have produced all the disaster are permitted to select the judges who will sit in the case. The whole subject now rises to the proportions of a scandal, and Mr. Lowenthal's book will enable the investor who has seen his savings devoured in these ruthless proceedings to understand the magic by which that is achieved.

One important phase of this history has been overlooked. It is the technique by which the junior bond-holders were made to accept enormous losses while the common stockholders, by paying a small assessment of four dollars a share, finally were able to recoup much of their losses. But of course Mr. Lowenthal set himself the task of describing the means by which bankers are able to seize power in disabled corporations, and this he has done with clarity and with vividness.

JOHN T. FLYNN

# The Melanesian Woman

*Life in Lesu.* By Hortense Powdermaker. W. W. Norton and Company. $4.

IT has long been a truism among students of primitive society that the basic line of social and economic demarcation is that between the sexes. It follows therefore that the story of any one social group studied by a single individual can never be complete, since the student can only enter into the life of his own sex; yet the recognition of this fact has been largely a verbal one. Miss Powdermaker's book should make this all-important point more than a statement to which mere lip-service is rendered.

"Life in Lesu" does not attempt a picture of all phases of the culture of the New Ireland people who are the subject of it. It is rather what British anthropologists term "primitive sociology" as seen from the point of view of the woman—that of the native woman and that of the reporter, herself a "participant observer" among other women. Miss Powdermaker's account of the economic life of the people ties up with other accounts of Melanesian civilizations which we have had. This makes her book available both for comparative purposes and as a point of reference concerning the manner in which a culture seen through a woman's eyes differs from a comparable one seen from the point of view of the male ethnologist.

The civilization presented is not a complex one as it is described, though it is possible that study of those aspects of it which did not receive attention might reveal more complexities than are apparent in this account. The sparseness of the data on the religious life is especially regrettable in view of the hints of its importance which are implicit in the account of social and economic life, and the manner in which religious belief underlies, sanctions, and motivates the more workaday phases of existence in most civilizations.

Like those other Melanesian cultures known to us, this one revolves largely about prestige, which in turn is based on the possession of wealth. Yet wealth is desirable, not to hold, but to distribute. It is this principle that makes a man proud when he has forced a seller to take more than he asks; that makes him validate his position by telling—always with an air of self-deprecation—of the amounts he has expended on an ancestral feast, a marriage rite, a puberty ceremony. With it goes the principle of reciprocity, carried out to such a degree that casual sexual contacts, which are the rule, are a thing of shame when the man does not give the woman a piece of native money in return for her favors!

Miss Powdermaker lived for some ten months with these people, and came to know them well enough not only to learn their rules of conduct, but to discern exceptions to those rules. So vivid were her experiences, indeed, that they make for one aspect of her writing that causes the reader some difficulty—the tendency to slip from past to present tense, and back to past, as she recounts her narrative. In spite of this confusion, however, her book holds the reader's attention; and what is more important, its objectivity of presentation makes it a contribution of real value for students of the social, economic, and sexual life of those peoples we term "primitive."

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

# An Old, Old Story

*Full Circle.* By John Collier. D. Appleton and Company. $2.

IT will be remembered that in the last two pages of "Penguin Island" Anatole France furnishes us with a sketchy picture of the day when civilization will have run its course, and men, "barbarians" once more, will have begun to build a new civilization not so different from the old. John Collier takes up the theme in this his second novel and elaborates it in nearly three hundred pages. Only it is not France but England which is the author's focal point—England in 1995, a generation or two after it has been devastated by terrific wars and left a vast ruin inhabited by mutually hostile tribes indulging in atavistic adventures.

In a brief introduction Mr. Collier asserts that he has written a "tale" pure and simple and that there has been no intention on his part to supply any sociological interest, which, he supposes, is expected in novels dealing with the future. As a tale, then, his book is to be judged. Naturally one does not expect truth but an aspect of truth, which in a work of fiction

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might be called verisimilitude. Broadly speaking, one gets it, but not without some glaring faults in detail. The hero of the tale, Harry, rival of the chief of his tiny community and leader of a marauding party making an assault on a neighboring village to acquire the necessary supply of women, may legitimately grow lyrical about nature or the divine girl in yellow who gives zest to his adventure, but it is really questionable if, being the sort of man he is, in a community so primitive, he would be apt to show himself such an adept in elegant abstractions. Some of his speeches addressed to his bosom friend, Crab, sound very unreal indeed, though they would be unobjectionable enough if dissociated from their background.

Apart from the setting, Harry's problem is not so very different from our own; it belongs to human nature. Friendship, love, treachery, and all that sort of thing are involved.

> He was caught in an abominable circle. At this point he observed, in a sort of stealthy flash (but did not heed much), that though all that hurt him lay inside the circle, what broke his spirit was the disparity between his life, inside, and the rest of the life, without.

Mr. Collier can write well; I find myself wishing he had applied his skill to a theme less full of pitfalls than this.

JOHN COURNOS

# Revolutionist's Symposium

*Recovery Through Revolution.* Edited by Samuel D. Schmalhausen. Covici-Friede. $3.75.

THIS book is one of the annual symposia edited by Mr. Schmalhausen. None the less, it is an interesting volume if for no other reason than the timeliness and possibilities of the theme. Unfortunately most of the essays, instead of concerning themselves directly with the large theoretical and practical problems of social revolution, are dedicated to a survey of the contemporary political scene throughout the world. While almost all are informative, few of the contributions reveal any fresh insights in their social and psychological interpretations of familiar data. Some of them, like Fischer's on Russia, Laski's on England, and Brailsford's on India, summarize positions developed at length elsewhere. For no good reason at all, the material is divided into three parts. All the essays treating of America—with the exception of Professor Lovett's—will be found in part three.

Obviously it is the essays in this last group which will interest the American reader most. How does it stand with us? Is America on the verge of fundamental social change? If so, approximately when, and through what instrumentalities, will the change take place? If not, how account for the fact that four years of the world's greatest depression have produced no revolutionary mass sentiment in America? And remember that if one takes into account the standards they once enjoyed—low as these may have been—the American masses have suffered more than any other national group.

One of the most impressive features of the essays of Messrs. Lovett, Simpson, Corey, Calverton, and Polakov is the sobriety with which they evaluate the prospects of social revolution in America. All of them are agreed that the objective conditions for a change to a Socialist economy are over-ripe; but they are just as unanimous that the subjective factors—the philosophy or will to revolution—are conspicuously absent in all but a tiny fraction of those who have nothing to lose but their chains. How explain this state of affairs? The very recognition that here we have a difficult problem of tremendous theoretical and practical import is of itself sufficient to explode the economic determinism of the old-line orthodox Marxists who taught that as conditions grew worse the working masses would automatically be lashed into class-consciousness by the brute compulsions of their sufferings. It is to the credit of all the writers mentioned that none of them subscribes to this dogma. Each of them in different ways—but more by way of asides than by frontal attack upon this challenging problem—seeks to throw light upon it.

Professor Lovett notes in passing the retarding psychological influence of nationalism upon the development of revolutionary consciousness in America. He should have made more of this. Certainly in a country where it is possible to break strikes by adroit appeals to chauvinistic patriotism, where farmers about to do violence upon a judge who has foreclosed their farms insist that he kneel and kiss the flag, where teachers whose timid souls have been roused to such a fury that they smash the plate-glass fronts of banks and bite cops wind up their demonstration by singing jingo songs with religious fervor —where this is possible, much more attention must be given to the technique of persuasion and argument than most radicals commonly realize.

Mr. Simpson dwells on the absence of a revolutionary tradition and of proper intellectual preparation on the part of all classes in America as explanation for the fact that "the immediate prospect is by no means exhilarating." Mr. Calverton, however, quite properly points to the existence of a definite revolutionary tradition in American history and claims that the weakness of all radical movements has been due to their inability to translate their ideas and attitudes into the native revolutionary idioms. Mr. Corey, in what is far and away the best essay of the collection on the general problem of social revolution, attributes the backwardness of the American labor movement to the influence of agrarian and petty-bourgeois radicalism as well as to the craft interests of the better-paid skilled workers—the aristocracy of labor. He admits that there has been a diminuendo in the militancy of American labor from 1870 down to the present, but offers no hypothesis in explanation. Mr. Corey's essay is noteworthy because he emphasizes, as few Marxists do, the historical efficacy of factors often dismissed as epiphenomenal. Social awareness is itself a social force. Then to be reminded that the final victor of socialism is realizable only on a world scale is indeed pertinent, but Mr. Corey with great circumspection and skill leaves it unclear whether this entails the theory of permanent revolution or socialism in one country. Mr. Polakov's essay shows that one can be an expert industrial engineer without sharing the vagaries of the technocrats. He develops with incisiveness the contradiction between the technical revolutionary activity of the engineer and the restraining influence of the profit system. None the less, since the immediate condition of vocational success is a stable social system, the engineer tends, like most scientists, to lean over backwards in his political conservatism. "And so the engineer of today is a tragic figure. A ruthless revolutionist in the field of technology, he undermines by his own work the very foundation of a society which he seeks to support."

Mr. Briffault's essay on The Human Mind in Revolution continues the argument of his "Breakdown." In a sense it is no argument at all, but an unqualified, uncritical declaration of Mr. Briffault's aversion for liberals and liberalism. Liberalism as an economic and political doctrine is certainly contradictory, hypocritical, antiquated, and futile. A more analytical demonstration, however, than that given by Mr. Briffault would have been welcome. But why should all forms of intellectual disinterestedness be identified with political liberalism? As objectionable as liberalism is, the doctrine which Mr. Briffault substitutes is even more objectionable. "Those who cannot be persuaded must perforce be liquidated. The social revolution, and incidentally the intellectual revolution, cannot be effected without a considerable liquidation of irrationalists." When intellectuals go gaga they believe that all problems can be solved by

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the *argumentum ad baculum*—the argument from the big stick. At any rate Mr. Briffault's brand of communism is uniquely his own.

The difficulty which confronts most contributors to a symposium is that they cannot edit the editor. And the editor of this symposium needs editing badly. Mr. Schmalhausen entitles his essay Communism Versus Fascism, but it is hard to follow the line of his reasoning. He is so given to dubious puns and alliterative inanities that one is tempted to characterize his thought as onomatopoetic thinking. He is more sensitive to the sound of words than to their meaning. The consequences upon his logic are disastrous. But it is when he is carried away on the wings of inspired rhetoric that the result is most awful. I wonder what the other contributors to the symposium must have felt when they read this:

> These bitter years. The "Great" War, like a murderer who in his mania laughs hideously in crazy triumph as he sees his victim bleeding to death, cracked open the skull of humanity. The face of life is all scars and ugly wounds, terrible to behold. Life's become a grinning gargoyle from which a madman's eyes look out upon a madman's world. The bitter years. All the fields strewn with corpses. Living corpses of men that could not die. The trees in the spring fertilized by the agony of ten million living corpses of ten million sad boys who died so futilely. All the world in tears, senseless sad tears, remembering the insane war they never desired in their lone sanity. The dirty imperialist war and the dirty imperialist peace. Lunatic's nightmare.
>
> Then the Russian Revolution! The skulls and corpses half forgotten, as in a dream at dawn but half-remembered. Red dawn. The smell of the earth more fragrant, as once, before the sepulcher of the war, man's faith was fragrant and sweet. Death's dominance fading out of life's new dawn, life flowing lustily through the minds of men, in red exultation, rejoicing amid the dimming grave years, facing with triumphant thoughts, in song and folk ecstasy, the young red dawn. Life bursting the fetters of death, spilling magnificently over the fields and into the parched hearts of men: the rebirth of life, creation crying to be born again.

SIDNEY HOOK

# Shorter Notices

*They Brought Their Women.* By Edna Ferber. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

In an introduction remarkable for its contradictions Miss Ferber unconsciously formulates both an indictment and a defense of that special brand of short story which she purveys to the American public. Claiming that the short story, by reason of its form, "is restricted from penetrating deeply into the fundamentals of life," she nevertheless admits that certain masters of it—Maupassant and Hemingway, for instance—have succeeded in capturing the enduring, timeless stuff of human existence in a few hundred words, have triumphed over the limitations of their medium. This is a self-indictment, for her own failure to penetrate deeply into the fundamentals of life can no longer be excused as inherent in the medium that she uses. At the end of her introduction, however, she changes front, and makes an excellent case for herself, when she states that "the short story, crowded into a handful of words, may be the form which has most truly caught the kaleidoscopic picture of our generation." Certainly in these eight stories the superficial features of a generation have been captured with remarkable verisimilitude. In a sense Miss Ferber has arrived at a communal form of literature by a non-Marxian route, for her tales—simple and direct in theme like prose extensions of the popular song—are innocent of any individual characterizations. They contain only typical figures, each acting out an American legend. Thus we have the glamorous actress whose private life is a dull grind of rehearsals and keeping fit; the quiet, drab little Fräulein who is mistress of a young radical on her day off; the masterful Wall Street broker who becomes the docile slave of his wife after hours; the taxi driver who encounters crime and adventure daily, and complains of the dulness of his life. In writing of these people, Miss Ferber functions as the balladist, making articulate those communal romances which have been built up by a collective, urbanized psyche. Her stories date, in a way that she herself deplores in her introduction. On the other hand, they may be destined for a long life, not as enduring works of art but as case material for the future historian seeking for the specific life of our times.

*One, None and a Hundred Thousand.* By Luigi Pirandello. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.75.

This novel is a further explication of Pirandello's favorite thesis, a sort of psychological theory of relativity. Just as an object in space-time, according to the theory of relativity, has no intrinsic location or velocity but a variety of relative locations and velocities depending upon various points of reference *outside itself,* so Pirandello envisages an individual as having no intrinsic self or identity but a variety of relative selves and identities—the product of his relations with various individuals. One has no self and a hundred thousand selves at the same time; hence Pirandello's cryptic title. The hero is started on these dangerous ratiocinations by his wife's innocently remarking to him one day that one of his nostrils is slightly lower than the other. Thereafter his psychological disintegration is rapid, and finally brings him to a condition conventionally known as insanity, but which he is able to defend as impeccably rational behavior and the only kind consistent with the "reality" of the situation. There is a cold bloodless rationality in Pirandello which limits his emotional range, but it is an ideal instrument for a theme of this kind.

*Kettle.* By Gustav Eckstein. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

Through the story of a great composer who sacrificed his own vision to further the work of a vast musical enterprise—a colossal Lyceum that was to inaugurate a renaissance of music in America—"Kettle" points the moral that art can never be institutionalized, and that all organized patronage is a forcing-house in which the creative impulse goes astray. Though the author's demonstration of this truth is capable and forthright, little can be said for those chapters in which he describes how the dying Vladimir Munck, released from his alliance with the Lyceum, produces one of the great symphonies of the world. Here we have all the unctuous soul-lashings, the windy posturings, that go with the creative impulse in the grand manner. As a counter-sentimentality, a corollary to enhance the original proposition, there may be a necessity for these chapters. But they show a point of view concerning the creative process that is no less naive than the conception of those mistaken but well-meaning founders of the Lyceum whom Mr. Eckstein holds up to such eloquent scorn.

*In God's Land.* By Martin Andersen Nexö. Translated by Thomas Seltzer. Peter Smith. $2.50.

In this novel the author of "Pelle the Conqueror" and "Ditte, Daughter of Man" returns to the attack upon a social system based on privilege. He does it gently yet powerfully, with a dignity lacking in some of our own writers in the same genre. His hero, Niels Fisker, who writes, prays that he may never be called an author in the current sense of the word; once a state of society has been achieved in which everybody is a human being, he feels, then it will be demonstrated that "to

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be a poet or author is the same as to be completely and wholly a man in the best sense." This, then, is what Nexö stresses in his new story—that for humanity's sake people must become real men and real women, and cease being merely predatory animals like Jens Vorup, who is never content with having enough and by his insatiable greed brings ruin upon himself and all close to him.

# Art

## The Tail Wags the Dog

IF republican agitation helps to account for revivals of Greek art, as during the Renaissance and the French Revolution, then it might be suggested that a back-to-the-Indian movement in art would have some connection with Communist ideas; for as Greece was the best example of a model democracy that the Renaissance and the eighteenth century knew, the primitive civilization of Peru and other Latin American countries is frequently held up as a shining example of successful communism. For the sake of inspiration it would seem to matter very little that neither was in fact a good model.

Obviously the Museum of Modern Art had no such notion in mind, however, to explain its magnificent exhibit of ancient American art, which includes a careful and intelligent choice of everything from Peruvian tapestry to Aztec monoliths and Maya miniature jades. The name of the show, American Sources of Modern Art, would suggest an exhibit of machinery and scientific instruments, for nothing American has affected the style of modern art as much as these things; whereas the ancient artists of this continent have been studied by only a few sophisticates, by Picasso, for example, and by the modern Mexican school. Picasso, however, is not included in the exhibition, and the Mexicans are sketchily represented.

The name is therefore really a mere excuse for a kind of formal introduction of the ancient art of this continent to the people who will be known by archaeologists in the future as the "Hudson River Dwellers." It is an introduction which should have been made long since by somebody independent of fashion and with an eye for great art, even when found in obscure places. If the Museum of Modern Art were not pledged by its name to be contemporary, it would not have had to set up a theory of origins for the sake of exhibiting works in themselves dateless, and too great to need an excuse. As well exhibit Hokusai as a "source" for a few Whistlers, and Michelangelo as one of the reasons for Rodin. Sources in any case explain little; where find them for Rembrandt, Daumier, Goya, and all the other great artists who, like Daumier, felt that "one must be of his time"? Even the Mexicans who, like Siqueiros, hold their own in such juxtaposition are best explained by the complex of politics and economics which gave impulse to the modern revolutionary Mexican school, in which Rivera, Siquieros, Charlot share honors with a good many others. Like many other political-minded artists, such as David and Michelangelo, they have more in common with contemporary social history than with the museum pieces they may have studied.

Lee Simonson objects bitterly that such shows as this are apt to lead artists astray because they seem to hold out this or that past as the sesame to power and life. The answer is that such artists as might be led today to chase a ghost tomorrow will be chasing butterflies, so no one need be much alarmed about the results of one particular misunderstanding. More cause for question is the fact that in a brief period the Modern Museum seems to have run through the list of available moderns known to be great, and is either too timid to take a chance on un-

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knowns, or on things not painting and sculpture, or else too narrowly bound by its name to exhibit the great of the past frankly as such; and must therefore make American ancients plausible by having them wave on the star-spangled banner or calling them the tail that wags the modern Mexican dog.

Except that the theory seems pretty silly, no fault need be found with the show, which deserves as much praise as is necessary to urge a visit before the objects assembled revert to the obscurity of ethnological museums and the status of scientific curios. Even the theory is not entirely without significance. It marks a tardy recognition in art of a commercial and political fact. Maybe there was a Roman museum that suddenly decided that Greece was, after all, Roman too in its past glories, however foreign Greek labor might be. If so, the parallel irony is that the Modern Museum opened the arms of America to Mexico and Peru just when Rivera was being suppressed at the other Rockefeller enterprise and attacked in the press as a foreign polluter of that frail infant known as American art. Not long afterwards the society for the advancement of the infant regretted publicly that Dartmouth had allowed itself to commission murals from Orozco, presumably cramping the growth of American art. So what? Are Mexicans Americans only if several hundred years old? Or perhaps only when they are mediocre enough to be harmless competitors? More or less plaintively we want the term "American" defined as regards Cuban jazz, long since part of Harlem and American musical glories, and as regards Californian houses and cowboy costumes, both of Spanish-Mexican ancestry. If beet sugar produced in Michigan almost entirely by Mexican labor is an American product, is a picture of an automobile factory in Detroit painted by a Mexican to be classed as "foreign"?

We must choose: either nationalism is a meaningless measure of the nature and worth of products, artistic products included, or else we must go to Hitler for details on how to distinguish the worthy from the unworthy. The language he uses is curiously like Mussolini's, Machado's, and that of our local cultural nationalists, all of whom seem to proceed on the theory that whatever is foreign is "impure" and to be outlawed on moral grounds. If we allow ourselves to be bullied into examining passports to culture, we shall find ourselves soon enough talking of "purges" and "purifications," disqualifying talent on political, anthropometric, or ancestral grounds, and asking about the shape of a man's nose, the color of his skin, and his grandmother's morals before we permit him to play the piano in our presence or set up an easel within a hundred miles of Boston harbor.

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